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ABSTRACT

This collection of essays was prepared to promote an appreciation of ethnic pluralism as part of the curriculum for professional social work. It is presented in seven chapters. Chapter I reviews the past and present status of the sociocultural factors in American social work and social work education, presents a theoretical framework of ethnicity, and gives a rationale for introducing ethnicity into social work education. Chapters II through VI offer teaching modules which emphasize the importance of ethnic awareness in the following curricular areas: human behavior and the social environment, social work practice, community organization, social welfare policy and research, and social work research. Chapter VII examines the concept of identity as the basis for understanding ethnicity and offers models for potential guidelines in integrating ethnicity into the curriculum. Content of the seven chapters applies to all subgroups in society having unique ethnic characteristics, but most of the examples refer to groups from Eastern and Southern Europe. (Author/AV)

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APPRECIATION OF ETHNIC PLURALISM IN EDUCATION FOR SOCIAL WORK

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The National Catholic School of Social Service
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FOREWORD

It is the luck of the Irish and every other ethnic group that the melting pot, did not. Whatever was consigned to that ubiquitous concept was never heated enough by theory, philosophy or common sense to really catch fire. Yet, at the same time, another kind of activity, a leavening was going on. More, say, to the likeing of those who treasured the special holiday, the "traditional" meal, the corner club, the special school. All along the Poles, Estonians, Latvians, Greeks--and many others were continuing their unique way of dealing with life as Americans, but Americans with something added, akin I suppose to what George Eliot ascribed to, "The finely - touched spirit, Dorothea . . . " The effect was incalculably diffusive: for the growing good of the world is partly dependent on unhistoric acts . . .

Richard Kolm is a nationally known expert on ethnicity. He spent a number of years on the faculty at the National Catholic School of Social Service, The Catholic University of America, in Washington, D.C., teaching and developing the fit between social science concepts and social work. Now with several colleagues, each of whom "held the diamond up to the light" in a special way, he provides social work education and practice with a guide toward a too-long delayed immersion into the riches of cultural diversity.

Joan W. Mullaney, D.S.W.
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PREFACE

The happy coincidence of the availability of modest grants for educational institutions under the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act and the strongly felt need by some faculty members of the School for exploration of the subject made this project possible. It's main purpose is the inclusion "into professional education in social work an appreciation of ethnic pluralism." The main specific objective is to provide "teaching modules" (i.e. two-hour teaching units) on ethnicity for the four major curricular areas: Human Behavior and Social Environment, Social Work Practice, Social Welfare Policy, and Social Work Research. Each of these modules contains a general discussion on the subject and provides appropriate bibliographic references as well as illustrative materials.

Thus the volume consists of five basic chapters--modules related to the curricular areas (with two chapters for Social Work Practice), an introductory chapter on theoretical aspects of relating ethnicity to social work and a concluding chapter on integration of ethnicity into social work education. The material is essentially designated to be included in the first (usually required) course of each of the four sequences. However, the decision on the method of Incorporation is left to the faculty members concerned.

The material presented in this volume is meant to be generic, i.e. to apply to all subgroups in society fitting the definition of ethnicity as unique historical-cultural content. This, however, does not mean that other aspects of ethnic groups and especially their minority aspects related to economic deprivation, racial discrimination, inequality of life opportunities, etc., were ignored or considered less important.

The focus in this volume on cultural factors was based on two assumptions: first the already existing, considerable amount of material related to the minority aspects, while relatively little is known about the meanings and significance of cultural distinctions of groups and, second, the importance of the inclusion of ethnicity into the theoretical framework of social work. Similar considerations were underlying the decision to give priority in the collection of illustrative material on the groups from Easter and Southern Europe.

Sincere thanks is given to the following persons: Dr. Karl Epstein, Director of the Ethnic Heritage Studies Branch (HEW, Office of Education, Division of International Education) for his friendly assistance throughout the duration of the project; Dr. Joan W. Mullaney, Dean, School of Social Service, Catholic University, for her personal support of the project; to Dr. David Guttmann, Assistant Dean for Academic Affairs, for his continuing assistance and cooperation to the project: to Dr. Norman Eggleston for his assistance in initiating the proposal; to members of the Advisory Council for their faithful service: Jack Hughes, Director, Social Welfare Program, George Mason University; Christine Kiebuzinski, Board of Ukrainian Women's Association, Dr. Kyril Konakchyisky, National Bulgarian Committee; Eva T. Molnar, College of Medicine, Howard University; Mervin Moss, Director Professional Services, Jewish Social Service Agency, Dr. Dolores L. Parron, Staff Liaison, President's Commission on Mental Health.

Grateful acknowledgement is given to the graduate student research assistants for their patient and effective work in collecting materials: Bronson Levin, Patricia Mattingly, and Eunice Miller; and to Bettie Smith for her enduring efforts in the management and in completion of the reports.

Richard Kolm,

CHAPTER I

Ethnicity in Social Work and Social Work Education

Richard Kolm, Ph.D.

ETHNICITY IN SOCIAL WORK AND SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

SOME THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Richard Kolm, Ph.D.

Ethnicity is not a new issue in social work. It is essentially what has been, and still is, called the sociocultural factors which were known and discussed in American social work since its beginning; Mary Richmond includes them as basic elements of social work in her classic written in 1917.[1] Considering the heterogeneity of American society, it is inevitable that these factors would constantly resurface in social work; however, inexplicably they did not become integrated into the social work theory of human behavior. Even if recently given more recognition, they are still treated as extraneous forces "influencing" human behavior but not as being an integral part of human growth or of the human personality.

As early as 1958, the Council on Social Work Education recognized fully the necessity of broadening the theoretical approach in the teaching of human growth and behavior and strongly recommended the inclusion of social theories as well as the interrelating of theories with each other.[2] The inclusion of sociocultural content in the curriculum of social work education subsequently became an accreditation requirement.[3] Efforts by the various schools to redesign this basic sequence of the curriculum are evidence of the growing concern of social work educators with the inclusion of sociocultural factors in their teaching.

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[1] Mary Richmond, Social Diagnosis (Russell Sage Foundation, 1917, The Free Press, Paperback Edition, 1965).

[2] Council on Social Work Education, Official Statement of Curriculum Policy, Statement for the Master's Degree Program in Graduate Professional Schools of Social Work (November 20, 1969).

However, despite the manifest concern, the professional literature reveals few signs of real integration. This paper attempts to analyze some of the obstacles involved and to explore some possible solutions. Reflecting these intentions, the paper consists of three main parts: the first part, dealing with the past and present status of the sociocultural factors in American social work and social work education; the second, dealing with the theoretical aspects of ethnicity as derived from social sciences; and the third part, dealing with the interrelating of ethnicity with social work practice and education.

The Sociocultural Factors in Social Work--Past and Present

Historical perspective

The very fact that the subject of ethnicity in social work is raised again as something which continues to be controversial, not yet formulated, and still being discussed is probably the best proof of its status in American social work. This does not mean that there has been no awareness and no recognition of ethnicity in the social work profession. Through their daily contacts with clients, social work practitioners could not help but be constantly made aware of the cultural differences among their clients and of the significance of these differences in the study, diagnosis, and treatment of problems.

There are some outstanding historical examples in American social work of awareness of and concern with cultural differences in society and with problems of cultural adjustment, particularly as pertaining to immigrants. To mention a few, Mary Richmond and her sociological approach to social work problems; Jane Addams and her Chicago Hull House based on her peculiar philosophy which attempted to combine the encouragement of preservation of the cultural background of the immigrants with an emphasis on their conformity with the culture of the white Protestant middle-class American; the American Council for Service to Nationalities groups, with its emphasis on service to arriving immigrants, and the related International Institutes, focusing on work with immigrants and ethnic groups in communities; the American Jewish Committee and its intergroup relations program, with its focus on elimination of prejudice and discrimination; the once-famous Springfield Plan of the late 40's, though mainly an educational program, had many elements which even now could serve as a model for community efforts in ethnic pluralism.[4]

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[3] Council on Social Work Education, Guidelines for Implementation of Accreditation Standards 1234A (June 1974).

However, all these initiatives had little impact on social work in the pre-World Warr II period, which Kadushin calls a time of professional consolidation and of an increased theoretical interest in psychoanalytic psychology. Kadushin relates this to the Zeitgeist of American society as it changed from pre-World War I enthusiasm for social reform and from a sociological orientation to emphasis on individualism and to preoccupation with self.[5] Another aspect was probably the strongly felt need for a general, unified theory of human motivation--a reaction to the massive influx of culturally diverse immigrant groups at the turn of the century. The trend toward professional consolidation was, no doubt, a reinforcing factor in the rapid acceptance of Freudian theory by social work. Kadushin sees it as the expression of a need for "developing a professional self-image which incorporated identification with Freudian theory as a component." And he adds: "And like all self-images of the formative years, this was likely to be persistent."[6]

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[4] Clarence I. Chatto and Alice L. Halligan, The Story of the Springfield Plan, (New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1945).

[5] Alfred Kadushin, "The Knowledge Base of Social Work," in Alfred J. Kahn, ed., Issues in American Social Work, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 54-58.

The strong identification of social workers with psychoanalytic thought could not even be shaken by the Great Depression, with its tragic events and their obvious environmental implications. The Social Security Act of 1935, which gave to the federal government the function of relief granting, reinforced the private family agencies' emphasis on personality problems. "They chose to stress help with personal problems for which a psychiatric orientation was supposedly most effective."[7]

The impact of these developments in the field of practice, on social work education and on socialization of future generations of social workers, can hardly be overestimated. Psychoanalytic psychology provided the social work profession with a definite method of dealing with human problems and may have enhanced its professional image; on the other hand, this almost exclusive focus led to rejection, or at least neglect, of the social concept of Man, and to estrangement from the social sciences. In social work practice, the identification with psychoanalytic clinical method inevitably put the emphasis on work with the middle-class, educated clientele and led to neglect of the lower socioeconomic classes and the ethnic minorities.

World War II finally triggered a new mood in the society which slowly began to erode the profession's relationship with psychoanalytic thought. The most meaningful single event marking the turn was the successful "by fiat" racial integration of the Armed Forces--a strike at the most fundamental "dilemma" of American society. This experience, brought home by millions of returning veterans, had a decisive impact on society and led directly to the watershed event of the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The nation was forced to reorient itself to the problems of its social conditions.

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[6] Ibid., 57

[7] Ibid.

The social work profession responded strongly at first to the 1954 ruling. A series of papers on segregation, desegregation, and integration was included in The 82nd Annual Forum of the National Conference of Social Work in Columbus, Ohio, in 1955, and was subsequently published.[8] In the same year, the Council on Social Work Education published a monograph, a casebook on seven ethnic studies which was prepared by the New York cultural project under the direction of Kathleen Spencer and Mary E. Hurlbutt, both from the New York School of Social Work.[9]

There had been other expressions of the social work profession concerned with the minority aspects as well as with the cultural diversity of American society, even before the 1954 Supreme Court ruling.[10] But all these efforts were not sufficient to do justice to the urgency of the problem. The slow response by the profession was to a great extent a reflection of the inertia of American society and of public and private agencies in implementing the Supreme Court ruling which did not include directives for concrete action beyond the recommendation for "deliberate speed." Aroused expectations and the failure to move decisively led inevitably to the black revolution of the 60's. Society and its agencies were finally spurred out of lethargy and propelled into action, initiating developments such as the Civil Rights Act of 1966, Johnson's "Great Society" program, affirmative action, the desegregation of public schools, the Black Studies programs, and the Ethnic Studies Act.

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[8] Minority Groups, Segregation and Integration, published for the National Conference of Social Work (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955).

Most characteristic of this valuable historical publication is the scarcity of references, which probably indicates a lack of relevant resources. The highly original content includes two general papers, three on migrant farm workers, one on European immigrants, one on Indians, and four on desegregation dealing mainly with Blacks.

[9] Socio-cultural Elements in Casework (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1955).

[10] Notable examples were two workshops on the cultural components in social work curriculum held by the American Association of Schools of Social Work in Milwaukee in 1950 and in Toronto in 1951 (reports mimeographed), quoted in Kadushin, "The Knowledge Base," 60.

Changes in social work theory and practice

During this same period the social work profession had the most dramatic experience in its history: rejection by Blacks of social work as a suitable medium of social change in society, best illustrated by the initial refusal of the Office of Economic Opportunity to hire professional social workers. Social work responded with what was to become a major reorientation program. Emphasis on work with deprived minority groups, particularly with Blacks; employment of indigenous personnel in public and private agencies and increased recruitment and training of minority members for work in their groups constituted the core of this program.

Social work education made every effort to match the needs of the field. Some of the most urgent tasks, such as increasing employment of minority members on the faculties of the schools of social work, and recruiting of minority students, were gradually implemented. However, lack of competent personnel and appropriate teaching materials were initially a great obstacle to a full response to these needs. The deprived minorities also received greater attention at national conferences and in professional journals. The Council on Social Work Education published a series of pamphlets on minorities which contributed significantly to the reorientation of social work to the social needs of society.[11] Development of curricular content relevant to minorities was another important step. In many cases, the action of minority students provided the stimulus for curricular modifications.

There were parallel developments in social work practice, the most notable being the increasing use of groups in working with individuals, the development of new group therapies, and particularly the emergence and increasing popularity of family therapy based on transactional processes. While some new theoretical ideas were implicit in all these genuine social work developments, they were not sufficiently explicated nor related to the theoretical core of social work. Consequently, the basic theoretical framework of social work remained essentially psychoanalytical.[12] Changes in social work practice were mainly changes in form, effected within the old framework. They did, however, often broaden the scope of practice, as in the case of family therapy.

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[11] The most relevant are the *Task Force Reports* (Council on Social Work Education, 1973): John E. Mackey, ed., *American Indian*; Kenji Murase, ed., *Asian American*; Araselis Francis, ed., *Black*; Juliette Ruiz, ed., *Chicano*; and Magdalena Miranda, ed., *Puerto Rican*. Other publications

Other publications by the Council: *Black Perspectives on Social Work Education* (1974); Marta Sotomayor and Philip D. Ortego y Gasca, eds., *Chicano Content and Social Work Education* (1975); Angel P. Campos, ed., *Puerto Rican Curriculum Development Workshop: a Report* (1974); Carl Scott, ed., *Ethnic Minorities in Social Work Education* (1970).

[12] For a new approach in teaching of Human Behavior and Social Environment, which implies a new theoretical orientation, see Mary Flynn, "Ethnicity in the Teaching of Human Behavior and the Social Environment," in this report. Infra, 58-102.

Changes in psychoanalytic psychology

The most significant change in social work orientation, having also definite theoretical implications, was derived from the development of ego psychology in psychoanalytic theory. With its emphasis on environmental factors, ego psychology opened new vistas in psychoanalytic thought. It enabled social workers to assert to some extent their commitment to the social aspects of human life and brought social work theory closer to reality and to practice. The eager acceptance of ego psychology by social workers, exemplified by the postwar outpouring of articles and publications based on or relevant to its principles, could be interpreted as an expression of a strongly felt need for a reorientation toward environmental factors.

The developments in ego psychology did not, however, mean a basic theoretical reorientation in psychoanalysis. In response, the orthodox school of psychoanalytic thought merely reaffirmed its basic biological orientation, interpreting the capacity of the ego for autonomous development as being rooted in, and related to, biological maturation processes. Thus Heinz Hartmann, a foremost apologist of Freudian thought and also a leading theoretician in ego psychology, concludes that all "adjustments to reality, as well as integrative functions, must be viewed in the context of biological thinking." He further adds that though "the decisive changes in the ego in the course of time take place under the influence of the environment, . . . in its growth there are, in turn, maturation factors operating."[13] With specific reference to the role of cultural differences in therapy, Hartmann et al assign them only a peripheral significance:

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[13] Heinz Hartmann et al, "Some Psychoanalytic Comments on Culture and Personality," in Heinz Hartmann et al, "Papers on Psychoanalytic Psychology," Psychological Issues Vol. LV, No. 2 (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1964), 90-91.

> Analysts, too, are aware of differences in behavior caused by cultural conditions; they are not devoid of that common sense which has always stressed these differences. But the impact of such differences on the analytic observer tends to decrease as work progresses and as available data move from the periphery to the center, that is, from manifest behavior to data part of which is accessible only to an analytic investigation. What is central in this sense is frequently also of paramount value to an explanatory approach.[14]

It is also well to remember that the Freudian school of psychoanalytic theory is not without dissidents. Adler, Jung, Rank, and the many later neo-Freudians all have emphasized in various degrees the social nature of the human being. Sullivan's interpersonal theory and Erikson's analysis of culture as a factor in personality and identity development are probably most explicit. Sullivan's statements, "The setting up of the psychiatric field as the study of interpersonal relations is certainly necessary if psychiatry is to be scientific," and "Psychiatry as a science cannot be concerned with anything which is immutably private; it must be concerned only with the human living which is in, or can be converted into, the public mode,"[15] relate him clearly to the interactionists, Cooley and G. H. Mead. His frequent references to Mead, with whom he was personally acquainted, testify to the interrelationship of their thoughts.

Erikson's emphasis on cultural factors in the development of personality and personal identity relate closely to the culture and personality theories in anthropology and sociology. His concept of cultural identity as the "identity of identities,"[16] has direct relevance here and will be discussed later. However, though the writings of Sullivan and Erikson gained general recognition, they did not succeed in changing the orientation of mainstream psychoanalytic psychology.

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[14] Ibid., 102.

[15] Harry Stack Sullivan, The Interpersonal Theory of Psychiatry (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1953), 19-20.

[16] Erik H. Erikson, as quoted in Irving M. Levine, "Ethnicity and Mental Health: A Social Conservation Approach," (New York: Institute on Cultural Pluralism and Group I-entity, 1976), (mimeographed).

The relationship of psychoanalytic thought to the social sciences was by no means one-way, but it can be asserted that the impact of psychoanalysis on the social sciences was far more extensive than the opposite way. Gisela J. Hinkle, a sociologist, gives a historical account of the relationship of these two fields as it unfolded from critical ambivalence to enthusiastic, though selective, inclusion of psychoanalytic psychology in nearly all areas of sociological specialization as well as in general sociological theory.[17] She emphasizes the numerous functional and conceptual convergences of sociology and psychoanalysis. In anthropology, the psychoanalytic orientation almost totally dominates the culture-personality field, through the works of Kardiner, Linton, Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Clyde Kluckhohn, Leighton, Hallowell, and others.

None, however, has done more for this convergence of psychoanalysis and social sciences than Talcott Parsons. A prominent sociologist, trained also in psychoanalysis, he devoted, according to his own statements, about ten years to the study of this problem and wrote numerous articles and a book on the subject.[18] Parsons goes beyond interrelating psychoanalytic psychology and social sciences, as he reinterprets many Freudian propositions and often draws conclusions differing from Freudian theory on some very basic points, including the nature of the id as determining the motivational structure of personality. Thus, Parsons writes in the article referred to above,

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[17] Gisela J. Hinkle, "Sociology and Psychoanalysis," in Howard Becker and Alvin Boskoff, eds., Modern Sociological Theory (New York: The Dryden Press, 1957), 574-603.

[18] For a list of Parsons' most important writings in this area, as suggested by himself, see "Social Structure and the Development of Personality: Freud's Contribution to the Integration of Psychology and Sociology," in Talcott Parsons' Social Structure and Personality, (New York: The Free Press, 1964), 79.

> . . .the interpretation of the id as a manifestation of "pure instinct" is, in Freud's own terms, untenable. Although, of course, it is the primary channel of transmission of instinctual energy and more particularized impulses into the personality, it also is structured through internalized object-relations.[19]

The important point of Parsons's interpretation is that it provides a decisive opening for the integration of psychoanalytic and social science theories. However, although Parsonian thought on psychoanalysis has greatly influenced social science, its impact on psychoanalytic theory has so far been negligible.

Rapprochements between social work and social science

Meanwhile, social work had its own experience of an intense rapprochement with the social sciences, and, it has to be stated, on much more reciprocal terms than in the case of psychoanalytic theory.[20]

A remarkable project sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation and the Jewish Board of Guardians was reported by Pollak. Conducted in a child guidance clinic in the early 50's, the purpose of the nearly four-year project was (1) the full recognition in practice of the value of the situational approach and (2) utilization of social science concepts by the practitioners as operational tools in diagnosis and treatment.[21] The treatment team was composed of psychiatrists, social workers, and social scientists, the latter of which included the author, a sociologist. In the words of the author,

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[19] Ibid., 81.

[20] Kadushin calls the 50's the period of "the discovery of the social sciences," and he lists more than twenty relevant references for the period from 1950 to 1959, over half of which refer to writings by social workers, in "The Knowledge Base of Social Work," 58-65.

[21] Otto Pollak, Integrating Sociological and Psychoanalytic Concepts: an Exploration in Child Psychotherapy (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956), 263.

> During this effort, we came to realize more and more that what appears to be the social environment of one person is a combination of the intrapsychic problems of others. Correspondingly, we found that the intrapsychic problem of one person is part of the social environment of other persons.[22]

Four social science concepts were found to be particularly useful: family orientation, social interaction, social role, and cultural conflict, the most provocative of which was the last, which referred mainly to the conflict between therapist and client.

In his post-project analysis the author emphasizes the great need for further conceptual clarification, particularly with reference to the relationship between the concepts introduced and corresponding concepts already established, for the articulation of research implications of the project, and for elimination through a theoretical reorientation of the divergence between theory and practice, especially in family therapy. Using principles of Gestalt theory, Pollak points out the theoretical shortcomings of psychoanalytic psychology and discusses the possibilities of a new approach.

Many changes and developments have occurred in American social work since the publication of Pollak's book in 1956, as well as considerable progress in theoretical conceptualization, particularly in the area of family therapy. It is not easy to assess the impact of the project, nor of the book which contains not only a detailed report of the project, but also Pollak's wide-ranging conclusions, focused on the necessity for theoretical reorientation in social work. Nevertheless, Pollak and his collaborators can justly be called the precursors of family therapy in American social work.

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[22] Ibid., 5-6.

To sum up, this long review was intended to clearly establish two points: (1) throughout the history of American social work, sociocultural factors repeatedly surfaced but never became integrated into the theory of social work practice; and (2) the exclusion of sociocultural factors from the theoretical framework of social work can be attributed mainly to the adoption by social work of psychoanalytic theory. By focusing nearly exclusively on the intrapsychic phenomena, psychoanalytic theory, at least its classical version, has rejected any attempts at integration of psychoanalysis with social sciences. This may indicate, as Stoodley, a social psychologist, has pointed out, that psychoanalytic theoreticians cannot take into account the sociocultural factors and processes of social interaction without radical changes in their theory.[23]

The neglect by social work of sociocultural factors caused a divergence between theory and practice and isolated social work from the empirical developments in social science. However, over the last two decades a considerable loosening of ties with psychoanalytic theory and a growing interest in broadened approaches to human behavior can be observed.

Changes in theoretical orientations regarding human nature and human behavior, however, do not come easily once a specific theory becomes part of a group's culture, as is the case with psychoanalytic practitioners and, by association, with social workers. As Kadushin puts it,

> Once having been initiated, trends such as the reliance of social work on psychoanalytic psychology achieve functional autonomy, and no further explanation is needed to account for continuation. The practice is institutionalized in the organizational apparatus, the literature, the educational profession; and in the process of being socialized to the occupational sub-culture, new recruits are educated to an acceptance of this

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[23] Bartlett H. Stoodley, The Concepts of Freud (The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960).

> body of theory. The fact that the orientation is accepted explains continued acceptance. Change takes place, but it is generally as a revision rather than a rejection of the old.[24]

The present discussion is not an attempt to question the validity of psychoanalytic theory in general. The great contribution of psychoanalytic psychology to the behavioral sciences--the formulation of internal processes in human development and functioning--must always be fully acknowledged. Furthermore, the lack of consideration of sociocultural factors does not in itself invalidate the universalistic-individualistic-intrapsychic approach in psychoanalytic psychology. However, from the point of view of the social work profession and its functional involvement in the social aspects of human existence, and in view of the general acceptance in the empirical social sciences of the interrelationship between personality development and sociocultural factors, the approach of classical psychoanalysis to human nature must be viewed as incomplete and insufficient for dealing with human problems within the scope of social work.

Although the psychoanalytic orientation may have been at one point of some advantage to social work, it probably must be regarded at present as being conterproductive to its further development. The implications of these conclusions point toward theoretical reorientation and toward new choices. Some possibilities and consequences are discussed in the next part of the paper.

A Theoretical Framework of Ethnicity

The need for a comprehensive theoretical framework for social work

Theories and theorizing are not the most popular preoccupations of social workers. The basic person-orientation of the social worker, which may act as a significant selective factor in recruitment to the professions, may be a valid reason for the reluctance of social workers to capitalize on their rich experiences and to develop their own concepts and theories. The necessity of individualization in working with concrete persons, every one of whom is by definition "different" as well as complex, may also be an important element in the reluctance of social workers to generalize and theorize. The emphasis on the individual, derived from the psychoanalytic framework still prevalent in professional education and training, is no doubt a further reinforcing factor. And yet, the diagnostic process and the preparation of treatment plans must be based on solid knowledge of human behavior in its totality, which requires theories, conceptualizations, generalizations, categorizations, etc.

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[24] Kadushin, "The Knowledge Base," 58.

Usually defined as a set or system of interrelated propositions, theories are to all science-related activities, including basic and applied sciences, what values are in the area of culture. The key aspects of a theory are its totality of impact and the interrelatedness of its components-propositions. Essentially tautological, both these aspects aim at the integration and internal consistency of a class of phenomena. Thus, a theory is more than a technically arranged set of propositions. Within the realm of scientific endeavor, theories provide explanations of the world around us; they guide our perceptions (observations), the meaningful organization of our experiences, and the testing of the hypothetical generalizations developed out of these observations and experiences. Obviously, there are various degrees in the quality of existing theories regarding their integration and internal consistency, their completeness, their openness, their capacity for generating empirical hypotheses, etc.

In social sciences, the key element underlying each theory is the concept of the human being, whether expressed directly or implied. Thus, for instance, the various theories of human nature, behavior, development, etc., as reflected in categories such as mechanistic, organismic, interactional, etc., have each their specific concept of the human being as a central meaning pervading all further constructs. The impact of the Copernican revolution on the "concept of Man," and its meaning for the development of science, comes immediately to mind as an example of the significance of the assumptions underlying the behavioral or social science theories regarding the nature of the human being.

From the point of view of the role of professions in society, all of which represent unique functions of importance to society and, accordingly, receive their rewards in the form of social and economic status from society, the knowledge base of their services is of utmost importance. With the increasing emphasis on social responsibility and accountability to society, the grounding of this knowledge base in sound scientific theories becomes an increasingly decisive factor in the functioning of professions. This is also true for social work.

The multiplicity of existing theories in the behavioral and social sciences is the expression of their comparative youthfulness and of the complexity of human existence. Though there is much evidence that ever increasing efforts in research and in interdisciplinary cooperation are causing the accumulation of integrated knowledge of human behavior to proceed at an accelerated speed, many controversies remain to be solved. The question of whether to choose one theory or to use the eclectic approach has become an important issue in social work since the loosening of its ties to psychoanalytic theory in recent years. The eclectic approach was actually recommended by the

Curricular Statement of 1969, with the added qualification that these theories should be interrelated. Obviously, the value of knowledge of different theories and of the differences among them cannot be questioned. However, unless the interrelating is complete and results in a clear formulation of theoretical convergencies and incompatibilities, differences in assumption of the nature of the human being in various theories may result in ambiguity and confusion and may inhibit conceptualization of experiences. Consequently, this may lead to reliance on haphazard and unaccountable reactions and judgment in diagnosis and treatment.

Related to the subject of eclectic approaches in the teaching of human behavior in social work education is the problem of curricular additives in the form of courses, concepts, etc. Although the informative value of these additives may be significant, they usually will not be integrated into the core content presented in the classroom and in the field. Thus, the developing of a theoretical framework for the teaching of human behavior in social work education, broad enough to explain the interrelationship of personality with the interactive system and the cultural system, is still open.

For the purpose of this paper, the writer chose a theory which not only is well known to him but which also provides an example of a theory covering both socio-psychological as well as sociocultural aspects of human existence. It also is the most commonly recognized in the social sciences.

The theory of symbolic interaction [25]

The symbolic interaction theory focuses on the specifically "human" aspects of human development. The human organism is recognized as the source of unspecified energy which, however, does not determine any specific patterns of human behavior. The existence of generalized "drives," or, as some writers call them, "instinctual responses," is generally acknowledged by most interactionists--though not given special emphasis--as being self evident. The learning process associated with these drives or responses on the human level, even in its most elementary phase, is the object of intense interest to the interactionists.

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[25] For the sake of communication with the reader not acquainted with the symbolic interaction theory, this section presents the briefest review of the most salient aspects of the theory, which, at the same time, are most relevant to the subject of ethnicity. For further study, see among others: George Herbert Mead, Mind, Self, and Society (The University of Chicago Press, 1962); Jerome G. Mains and Bernard N. Meltzer, eds., Symbolic Interaction (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, 1967); Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), especially Chapters 1 and 2.

The most important characteristic of human beings, differentiating them from the rest of the animal world, is the capacity for symboling, i.e., the use of symbols as representations of the physical world and of human experiences. This capacity leads directly to the development of thinking and of language as a means of communication with others. Since these representations may be interpreted differently by different people, the establishment of common meanings is necessary for mutual understanding and for common action. This capacity and tendency of the human being to create and use symbols and their corresponding meanings for his observations and experiences make the human world a world mediated through meanings, implying that human beings literally create their world. In this sense, the expression by Shakespeare that "we are such stuff as dreams are made of" seems pertinent. This condition also explains the problems which human beings have in their interpersonal or inter-group understanding.

The need for sharing observations and ideas, for communication, and for verification of "meanings," in turn involves the need for response and recognition, for belonging, cooperation, etc.--hence, the centrality of "social interaction" in all human development. The human organism can become a human being only through association and interaction with others--"no man is an island." It is through social interaction that the individual develops mind and self, as well as all social and cultural patterns. Through continuous interpretation of meanings in communication with others, he constantly defines these meanings, interrelates them, abstracts and generalizes them, classifies and categorizes them, and develops new ones. Thus, the human being develops his capacity to think, to solve problems, and to achieve mastery of environment as well as of self.

Social interaction is also the basis for the development of the human self. By "seeing oneself through the eyes of others," a process which begins during his first identifications with mother and family, the individual perceives the meaning of self to others, establishes in that way his self concept, and develops his personality. It is in this context that approval, acceptance, or rejection, and belonging come to mean so much to the human being.

From social interaction derive also all sociocultural developments in human existence. By a process of "consensual validation" human beings establish common meanings with others, make agreements, and decide on joint action. By defining norms and sanctions for important functions in the group, they establish social roles, organizing them into clusters from which evolve social institutions. And finally, from common meanings in groups emerge general patterns of preferences and priorities which, generalized, become values to guide collective and individual behavior and development. These patterns of conventional meanings also become a basis for role and institutional structure in society and constitute the primary content of what is called culture.

Through continual testing and modification in the historical existence of societies, the patterns of meanings become interrelated and integrated among themselves and with the social structures and functions of society, thus becoming part of a functional human group. In this sense, cultures can also be defined as systems of meanings, and cultural groups or societies become what Cassirer calls "communities of meanings."[26] As with the world of meanings of individuals, cultures as systems of meanings are also characterized by uniqueness and intimacy, making them difficult for outsiders to understand and to live with without considerable effort of learning and adjustment.

The meanings of culture. Culture can also be defined as a tool of survival. Human beings can survive only in groups, and therefore they develop patterns of meanings to make possible communication and cooperation. These patterns of meanings become social and cultural patterns functioning in place of weakened instinctual guidelines, making possible the accumulation of experience, knowledge, and skills and rendering the world more dependable, secure, and adequate.

To achieve transgenerational continuity, human groups must socialize their young according to these social and cultural patterns so that they will be able and willing to maintain these patterns and develop them further. The long period of socialization (putting society into the person) related to the slow human maturation process and the immense learning involved require a degree of stability of life in the group to create favorable conditions for growth and the transmission of meanings (enculturation process). Stability is secured through the institutionalization of social structures, but the essential element providing continuity and long term stability of society, including its social structure, is the mechanism of socialization.

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[26] Ernst Cassirer, An Essay on Man (New York: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1953).

internalization through early identifications of the values of the given culture and acquisition of a positive motivation for learning social behavior are the central elements of the socialization process which also are the basis for persistent continuity of cultural patterns.

The integration of culture, society, and personality. It is thus through the socialization process that culture and society become integrated in the personality, making possible the optimal efficiency of human communication and cooperation in groups. Culture, society, and personality have to be considered as interdependent systems, constructive and supportive of each other, each having an independent focus within the framework of the general human "action system."[27] Culture, the most abstract and generalized of the three, constitutes the organizing element, or as Parsons calls it, the "principal common denominator between personality as a system and the role structure of the social system."[28] In turn, the social system constitutes the main structural support for production, maintenance, and development of the cultural system as well as for the development and functional adequacy of the personality system. Finally, the personality system converts the physical energy of the individual human organism into the motivational and action force needed for the maintenance and development of the social and cultural systems.

The cultural bond. The sharing of meanings, and their integration with the social and personality components, makes for the development of the cultural bond in social groups (the bond of meanings). It facilitates intimate communication and deeper interpersonal relations and is a source of social solidarity, loyalty, and social responsibility, enabling human groups to mobilize collective efforts and to overcome adversities in their struggle for continuity and development.

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[27] Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), 11.

[28] Ibid., 28.

The cultural bond also implies directly the development of cultural identity as the internal and external assertion of collective and individual distinctness. The main function of cultural identity is the facilitation of the development of personal identities. However, as will be discussed later, both the cultural bond and cultural identity, if overemphasized and defined too narrowly, may become limiting factors in individual and collective development.

The cultural structuring of personality. As discussed previously, the involvement of the sociocultural elements in the development of self is the cornerstone of the social concept of Man. The further systematic integration of culture and society into the personality during the long period of socialization is bound to bring about some common personality patterns characteristic of a given society and culture. Known under a variety of terms, such as "basic personality structure" (Linton, Kardiner, Parsons), "modal personality" (Inkeles and Levinson), "national character" (Margaret Mead), "social character" (Fromm),[29] and others, the concept of a culturally structured personality is generally recognized, though not easy to prove empirically. Due to the great number of variables involved, any formulation of the cultural structuring of personality can be only of a very general nature; the diversity in kind and intensity of situational influences, the unique combination and sequence of individual life experiences, and the diversity of biological constitution make any culturally imposed, concrete uniformity of personality virtually impossible, even in a highly integrated culture. But even the most general level of patterning of personality makes for some recognizable distinct personality structures or modes and serves the purpose of facilitating communication and cooperation in human groups. Most affected by cultural patterning is the self concept, which, being subject to initial patterning through earliest identifications in the family, in turn has a decisive impact on attitudes toward others, toward society, world, and life in general. The concept of the family as "the transmission belt of culture" is of greatest relevance here.

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[29] R. Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1965); A. Kardiner, *The Individual and His Society*; T. Parsons, *The Social System*, 208, 226-235; Margaret Mead, "National Character," in A. L. Kroeber, ed., *Anthropology Today*; A. Inkeles and D. Levinson, "National Character: the Study of Modal Personality and Socio-Cultural Systems," in Gardner Lindzey, *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., Inc., 1954); E. Fromm, Psychoanalytic Characterology and its Application to Understanding of Culture, in S. S. Sargent and Marian W. Smith, eds., *Culture and Personality* (New York: The Viking Fund, 1949), 1-10.

The cultural group and social change. Changing external conditions, physical and social, as well as the creative activities of human beings, such as in science and technology, bring about changes that require constant adjustments, modification, and changes in social and cultural patterns. As the most abstract and generalized system, culture is by its very nature and function the progenitor and symbol of stability rather than of change. But culture changes as everything else in nature, though the rate of change may vary in different areas of human life. The relationship of various areas of life to the core values of the given cultural system apparently is decisive in determining the change of cultural patterns. Changes threatening the continuity or integrity of a social group, and particularly changes imposed from outside, are apt to evoke defensive reactions in the form of passive withdrawal, belligerent behavior, etc. If such reactions develop into rigid social patterns, they may result in general insensitivity to changing conditions and may become an obstacle to individual and collective development.

On the other hand, too rapid social change can bring about a weakening and disintegration of the cultural bond and can result in disorganization of structural elements, particularly the family and the socialization process of a given group and possibly leading to general social and cultural disorganization. Seen in this way, many characteristics and reactions of cultural subgroups can be easily explained.

Usages and meanings of ethnicity

The term "ethnicity" was first used in this country by social scientists in the early 50's in application to immigrant groups or their descendants, and as replacement of "nationality" which was thought to have excessive political connotations. Recently, the term ethnicity has acquired a nearly universal meaning for any group differences and has been used not only for so-called "racial groups," but also for minority groups in general and for such other groupings as religious, age, sex, and others.

The use of the term "ethnic" for deprived "racial" minority groups seems improper for a number of reasons. First, not all non-white minority groups are deprived; second, many deprived individuals or groups are white; third, "white" is also a racial designation; and fourth, the term is essentially divisive in its rigid dichotomizing of society and, even if for this reasons only, should be avoided. The term most applicable to these meanings and one which would also be logically consistent and concise would probably be "deprived minority." However, the interchangeable use of the terms "ethnic" and "minority", calls for a clarification of these terms.

While there often is a direct relationship and overlap between the terms "ethnicity" and "minority," in the sense that many ethnic groups are also minorities both numerically and in regard to status, the two concepts have basically different meanings. Conceptually, the term "ethnic group" applies both to minority and majority groups in pluralistic societies. In that sense, the Anglo-Saxon group in American society is also an ethnic group. On the other hand, minority groups include non-ethnic groups, such as women, the aged, or the poor. The main focus of ethnic groups is on cultural continuity, while the focus of minority groups is mainly on equality regarding economic benefits, civil rights, political rights, etc. Consequently, minority groups in their action methods emphasize change while stability and continuity are emphasized by ethnic groups. In social sciences, ethnicity is designated as a vertical stratum, as is religion, as both include all classes or status groups, whereas "minority groups" belong to a horizontal stratification system related to class or status groups and may, in turn, include any ethnic or religious group.

Ethnicity is an inclusive, broad term not easily defined. Most commonly, ethnicity is identified with the cultural uniqueness of a societal sub-group originating from another historical society. In the New World, these sub-groups are understood as being derived from immigrant groups, while in the Old World they mainly consist of territorial groups, usually settled for centuries in a given area. Most often, these two forms of ethnic groups coexist in societies, as is the case, for instance, with the native groups and the immigrant groups in all New World societies. Similarly, labor migration in Western Europe has recently created new ethnic groups along the old territorial cultural divisions.

The emphasis on historical derivation implies that cultural uniqueness has existed over several generations and that it has been supported by social structures and processes which make possible intergenerational transmission of unique cultural patterns. These structures and processes pertain mainly to the family and community life of the groups and to such phenomena as language, values, traditions, customs, etc. Unique cultural patterns and social structures in an ethnic group imply also the existence of some distinct personality developments and models.

These common-sense definitions of ethnicity and ethnic groups have many implications for the development of a theoretical framework within which the phenomena of ethnicity and ethnic groups can not only be analyzed and verified, but also related to existing theories in behavioral and social sciences.

Thus, the term ethnic group applies to all groups derived from Old World cultures as well as to Native Americans and also to some purely American ethnic developments, such as the Blacks, Appalachians, and Amish. Religious groups which, aside from their different practices, do not exhibit any major cultural variations in society or which, being larger concepts, consist of a variety of culture groupings, such as Catholics or Protestants, will, however, not be included; though Jews, for whom the cultural and religious content can hardly be separated, must be regarded as an ethnic group.[30] Large linguistic groupings such as English-speaking, German-speaking, or Spanish-speaking groups will also not be included in the term "ethnic," as they are comprised of a number of ethnic groups.[31] The examples of the

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[30] The term "ethno-religious groups," suggested for Jews and some other groups by Charles H. Mindel and Robert W. Habenstein, Ethnic Families in America (New York: Elsevier, 1976), seems to be an unnecessary taxonomic complication.

[31] This, however, does not preclude the practical feasibility of such groupings for other purposes, especially political, as is the case with the Spanish-speaking groups in the United States.

Irish, the Welsh in England, the Bretons and Normans in France, and many others indicate that language is not an absolutely necessary criterion in ethnicity. Also not included are designations for large groupings--such as Slavic, Germanic, or similar--which, in addition to some very general common linguistic roots, imply some distant prehistoric common origins having since lost their meaning entirely.

And obviously, the term ethnic will not apply to such inclusive geographic terms as Asian, African, or European, nor to racial terms, such as black, white, yellow, etc. One exception will be the Black Americans who, due to their historical experiences in American society, have become or are becoming a distinct cultural group. In general, racial characteristics in themselves are not considered to be directly relevant for cultural processes. Thus, "black" or "Afro" as a synonym for "ethnic" would not make sense in Africa with its many cultural, linguistic, and tribal divisions. Cultural development is mainly a function of social-interactional patterns. In the case of Blacks in America, it was not race per se but the social-interaction patterns involving discrimination and prejudice against them, which have contributed most to the developing ethnicity of Black Americans.

The above discussion is an indication of the difficulties with which the concept of ethnicity is beset. These preliminary common-sense and essentially descriptive clarifications may be helpful in the introductory phases of the discussion on ethnicity. However, they do not permit a thorough understanding of the concept and of its relationship to the existing theories in behavioral and social sciences, which is the subject of the next section.

Ethnicity in symbolic interaction theory

Ethnicity related to culture. As mentioned previously, ethnicity is usually understood as cultural uniqueness. This common-sense definition implies an equation, in the broadest sense, of ethnicity with culture. Like culture, ethnicity can be seen as a historically derived, unique system of meanings integrated with unique social structures during the socialization process in a unique personality system. Ethnic patterns, like all cultural patterns, are persistent in their continuity and generate the development of a bond of meanings and of cultural identity.

However, culture has many broad meanings which usually include not only those unique to the given group or society but also many universalistic elements of science, art, music, religion, etc.. On the other hand, ethnicity, as commonly understood, refers mainly to the unique elements of the culture which are directly related to the quality and strength of the cultural bond and cultural identity and, consequently, to the continuity of the group.

Thus, ethnicity can be defined as that part of the culture which pertains to its unique, most durable and essential elements and which also constitutes the basis of the group's cultural bond and its cultural identity. In general, then, ethnicity can also be called the core of a culture.

Using the analogy of individual development, the relationship of ethnicity to culture can be compared to the relationship of self to personality. In this sense, even a homogeneous culture, such as the Icelandic, has its ethnic core. In the case of pluralistic societies, comprising several ethnic groups, the integration of these groups into the society and the national culture becomes the basis for the development of the national cultural bond and identity. The unique characteristics of the component groups, the unique situational factors, and unique historical experiences, as well as the length of time involved determine in each case the quality, degree, and overall character of the integrating forces and thus of the national bond and national identity.

The above meaning of ethnicity has the advantage of having universal applicability which can be used both with reference to whole and homogeneous cultures and to cultural sub-groups in larger societies, to indigenous as well as to transplanted cultures, and to territorial and to dispersed ethnic groups.

The ethnic group as a social system. Similar to the analogy of ethnicity and culture, the ethnic group can be equated in general terms with a complete society. In addition to unique cultural patterns, ethnic groups also possess unique social institutions and, above all, unique family and socialization patterns. Ethnic groups fulfill also most of the formal functional prerequisites of complete societies, such as recruitment by biological reproduction, socialization of the oncoming generations, and a degree of organizational independence. All territorial Old World groups and also those of Quebec in Canada, the Native Americans, the Amish, and the Mormons in the United States, fall easily into the category of complete societies. If the criterion of self subsistence were strictly applied, all other ethnic groups would have to be recognized as "partial societies," though, according to Parsons, total self subsistence is not essential as long as the "structural and functional fundamentals of an independent subsisting exist."[32]

As the concept "ethnicity" can be applied to homogeneous cultures, so also can the term "ethnic groups" be applied to ethnically homogeneous societies. In this sense, Iceland could justly be called an ethnic society. However, for practical purposes, it is more convenient to use the term "ethnic group" in accordance with the common usage, i.e., as designation of cultural sub-groups in larger societies.

The implications of this concept of the ethnic group as a complete sociocultural unit are many. The most important is that their tendency and desire to maintain their cultural identity has to be regarded as a normal phenomenon as it is for all normal historical societies. This is more or less accepted with reference to territorial ethnic groups, but it also applies to transplanted cultures derived from immigration and existing in a state of dispersion. If the sociocultural organization of human society can be regarded as a crystallization of human existential processes, then, as with crystalized minerals, every fragment of historical human society retains both in content and structure its unique characteristics, can be identified by these characteristics, and must be treated according to them. It also means that the tenacity and the persistence of ethnic groups, even under and often because of the most adverse conditions, has to be seen not only as a normal manifestation of efforts for survival but, as with all normal societies, as a positive and constructive characteristic having basic functional meanings and potentials for the development not only of the ethnic group itself but also for the larger society and for mankind.

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[32] Parsons, The Social System, 19.

Ethnic groups and social change. The previously discussed tendency of all sociocultural patterns to resist change apply also directly to ethnic groups as sub-groups in larger societies. It also applies in a unique way to immigration-based groups living in a state of dispersion and exposed to intensive interaction with other groups (including the dominant groups) and frequently to various forms of rejection by society as well as to pressures toward conformity. As a defense, these groups frequently withdraw into small neighborhood or parish groups to find security in social and economic relations and in meaningful cultural patterns continued from the past. Cut off from larger social and cultural interaction, they tenaciously cling to traditional patterns brought over by the original immigrants and transmitted over generations--the only patterns they know and feel comfortable with--and they socialize their children in these patterns, thus securing their continuity. They resist any changes in their social and cultural structures and activities, as they feel that these changes may threaten the bond and integrity of their group.

The reluctance of ethnic groups to abandon their traditional ways can thus be viewed as a healthy reaction of human groups to untested changes which may have profound negative impact on the group. But withdrawal of the ethnic group from the mainstream of the larger society, even if it may have a temporary survival value, can also lead to a fossilization of cultural patterns and the consequent backwardness of the group, to intergenerational conflicts, and finally to gradual disorganization and disintegration of the group.[33]

Withdrawal as a mode of adjustment of ethnic peoples in American society is still prevalent among some groups, notably the East Europeans. Other groups, however, have achieved a balance between participation in the mainstream of the society and the maintenance of some interactional boundaries.

Evidence from recent research seems to indicate that ethnic cohesion is an important factor in the social advancement of ethnic groups[34] as well as in resisting social disorganization.[35] The withdrawal pattern is analyzed by Wrobel in his study of the Polish-Americans in Detroit.[36] The most important aspect, then, of ethnic adjustment and of continuity of ethnic identity in the larger society is the issue of acculturation vs. assimilation; the latter meaning complete loss of distinct identity and submergence in the general society, while acculturation denotes behavioral conformity without the loss of distinct cultural identity, which is cultivated mainly in primary interpersonal and group relations.[37] The views of writers vary on this point. While Hansen in 1938 had already formulated his view of the ethnic reawakening of the third generation, Nahirny and Fishman disagree with Hansen and contend that ethnicity and ethnic identity are subject to erosion in the course of three generations. Most of the contemporary writers, such as Moynihan, Glazer, and Etzioni; tend to support the assumption of ethnic continuity beyond the third generation.[38]

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[33] The example of the Amish is not applicable here, as their survival is based on total withdrawal from society. Thus, their children are not exposed to the acculturating and assimilating influences of the larger society and can be successfully socialized into the group. However, if the existence of one such group in society can be tolerated as a quaint oddity, it could hardly be accepted as a general pattern in American or in any society.

[34] Andrew Greeley, "Making It in America: Ethnic Groups and Social Status," Social Policy Vol. 4, 21-31; Marcia Guttentag, "Group Cohesiveness, Ethnic Organization, and Policy," Journal of Social Issues Vol. 26 No. 2, 1970, 105-133; Mario Puzo, "The Italians, American Style," in Minako Kurokawa, ed., Minority Responses (New York: Random House, 1970), 288-298.

The ethnic personality

If the assumption of analogies between ethnicity and culture and ethnic group and society is theoretically sound, then everything that has been said previously on the cultural structuring of personality directly applies to the ethnic personality. The assertion that the group cultural identity facilitates the formation of personal identity[39] is particularly meaningful in its applications to the ethnic situation. By providing numerous historical models of behavior for various situations as well as specific guildelines for individual and collective action, and opportunities for direct implementation of these models and guidelines in concrete community relations, the ethnic culture and community facilitate the identification of the growing individual with them and consequently have a significant part in the socialization process. In this sense, the ethnic culture and community can be viewed as a strong support and an extension of the socializing function of the family.

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[35] Gerald D. Suttles, The Social Order of the Slums (University of Chicago Press, 1968).

[36] Paul Wrobel, "Becoming a Polish-American: a Personal Point of View," in Immigrants and Migrants: the Detroit Ethnic Experience (published by the Journal of University Studies, Detroit, Vol. 10, Fall 1974), 182-188.

[37] Eric Rosenthal, "Acculturation without Assimilation? The Jewish Community of Chicago, Illinois," in Minako Kurokawa, ed., Minority Responses (New York: Random House, 1970), 145-151.

[38] Marcus L. Hansen, The Problem of the Third Generation Immigrants (Rock Island, Ill.: Augustana Historical Society, 1938); Vladimir C. Nahirny and Joshua A. Fishman, "Ukrainian Language Maintenance Efforts in the United States," in Joshua Fishman et al, Language Loyalty in the United States (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1966), 318-357; Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, "The View from 1970," in Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, Beyond the Melting Pot 2nd edition (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1970), Introduction, vii-xxiv; Amitai Etzioni, "The Ghetto--Re-evaluation," Social Forces, Vol.37, March 1959, 255-262.

In accordance with this, the development of self and self concept and the functioning in social interaction, particularly in primary relations, can be viewed as the most important element of the ethnic structuring of personality. Though conclusive empirical evidence is lacking, the existing findings point to the ethnic-cultural structuring of personality as the most persistent factors in ethnic continuity. This would also be consistent with the theoretical interpretations of the relationship of culture and personality mentioned previously.[40]

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[39] Identity is understood here mainly as the stabilization and wholeness of the self concept and, consequently, as the basis of integrity and consistency of behavior.

[40] Elizabeth A. Hartwell, "Cultural Assimilation, Social Mobility and Persistence of Cognitive Style," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Brandeis University, 1968; Paul Kernaklian, "The Armenian-American Personality and Its Relationship to Various States of Ethnicity," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Syracuse University, 1967.

Functions and dysfunctions of ethnicity. As already stated, ethnicity can be functional or dysfunctional, both on the individual and collective levels. Overemphasis may lead to excesses in reaction and behavior and to disturbances in both individual and collective development. On the other hand, underemphasis may cause developmental weakness which may lead to negative results. This potential of ethnicity, in common with all human traits, has its particular relevance to the relationship of ethnic groups to the larger society and to the issue of cultural or ethnic pluralism.

If properly understood and implemented, the cultural or ethnic bond, based mainly on the socialization process in the family, can become the source for group and individual identity development in ethnic groups and consequently for the rise of a moral order based on cultural controls, on social responsibilities, loyalty, and solidarity. Finally, this bond can function as an indispensable source for grass-roots participation and involvement in social and cultural life.

These characteristics can also become a direct contribution to the general society. The most essential contribution of ethnic groups to the larger society is, as mentioned above, their role in the development of personal identity. In this regard, the ethnic community is in a favorable situation in comparison with the larger society, which, with its more generalized, vague, and indirect identification potentials, can only have an indirect impact on the socialization process. The main point here is the development of the capacity for social identifications in general. When developed, this capacity can expand to the larger society and beyond, thus providing the vital support needed by society and its culture. These functional aspects of ethnicity, if properly developed, can be of immeasurable value to the modern industrialized society, as they can be viewed as antonym and antidote to social atomism, excessive individualism, alienation, and anomie of modern mass culture. A weakening or destroying of these forces of cohesiveness and group spontaneity may significantly contribute to the disorganization of modern society.

Obversely, these functional aspects may, if exaggerated, become dysfunctional tendencies and symptoms. Excessive emphasis on the cultural bond and on cultural identity may lead directly to excessive ethnocentrism and to self-aggrandizement, frequently resulting in isolation, clannishness, and insularity, which can prevent effective communication and cooperation with other groups in society. Withdrawal from the mainstream of society, one of the most common reactions of ethnic groups to the pressures by society for social and cultural conformity, usually leads to further rejection by society and increased discrimination and prejudice. Withdrawal from society may also lead to internal negative developments of ethnic groups in the form of a tendency toward static and rigid internal structures and functioning which may produce patterns of cultural primitivism and resistance to change. This vicious circle may create a climate of scapegoating, stereotyping, distrust, prejudice, belligerence, and intergroup conflict which may cause serious disturbances in the life of society.

A very common reaction to these dysfunctional aspects of cultural differences in society is the wish to eradicate these differences and to become "one." Usually expressed by the dominant groups in society in the form of a question--"Why can't they be like us?"[41]--this wish is a reflection of their impatience with the tenacity of cultural sub-groups and of their equating homogeneity and conformity with unity. Aside from the question of desirability of cultural sameness, this attitude ignores the nature of cultural patterns individually internalized as generalized values during the long period of socialization and supported by institutional ethnic structures.

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[41] The question has been used by Greeley as the title for his book, in which he explores the survival of ethnicity in the United States. Andrew M. Greeley, Why Can't They Be Like Us? (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1971).

The solution to the dysfunctional aspects of ethnicity is not eradication of cultural differences but development of its best potentials. As historical experience shows, cultural differences, in themselves, are not the direct reason for these dysfunctional developments. As with individual development and interpersonal relations, psychological and situational factors are inevitably at the root of dysfunction in inter-group relations. By extending the analogy to interpersonal relations, the dysfunctional aspects of ethnocentrism can be compared to those of egocentrism. But we do not propose to eradicate individual differences because of their potential for dysfunctional development. The analogy raises, also, the issue of relations between ethnic groups and society in an ethnically pluralistic society.

Cultural-ethnic pluralism in modern society. Though the terms culture and ethnicity can almost be equated, there appears to be an advantage in differentiating between ethnic and cultural pluralism. Cultural pluralism seems to be applicable to countries such as Switzerland, Yugoslavia, Canada, and others, where the cultural diversity includes linguistic differences and also refers to territorial boundaries. Ethnic pluralism, then, would refer to countries with non-territorial ethnic groups which, even if they have retained to various degrees their distinct language, have accepted the official language as the lingua franca in public life.

In its broadest sense, the term cultural pluralism can also be applied to the whole world or to any of its larger geographical or political units. Judging by the present tendencies for formation of large political units based on social-cultural commonalities (North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Organization of American States, Federation of Arab Republics, Organization of African Unity, etc.), one may assume that cultural pluralism is becoming a key concept in the development of mankind. Existing pluralistic societies, and particularly those based on democratic principles, could from this standpoint be viewed as laboratories designing conceptual tools and policy formulas to facilitate these developments.

The question of functional principles for pluralistic societies is not easily answered. It is possible to offer, however, some general formulations derived from recognized principles of intergroup relations, from theoretical insights into the nature of cultural groups and, not the least, from common sense and experience. Due to the discrete and integrated character of ethnic groups as cultural and social systems, and the persistence and tenacity of these groups, a functional integration of cultural-ethnic groups in larger social systems will be best furthered by:

1. Voluntary participation of these groups in the larger society;
2. Acceptance by the general society of cultural pluralism as being essentially positive, constructive, and conducive to higher forms of human development and achievement;
3. Unconditional acceptance by the general society of its ethnic groups on the basis of uncompromising equity with regard to their legal and human rights and their participation in the social and economic benifits in the general society;
4. Recognition by society of the inalienable right of ethnic groups to preserve their distinct cultural integrity and their rights to self-determination concerning their adjustments and acculturation to the general society.

These principles can also be regarded as conditions for successful ethnic pluralism on the societal level, i.e., essentially on the level of institutional functioning. Any such institutional functioning, however, must be accompanied by development of positive attitudes, which in the long run remains the most important factor in securing the permanence and the feasibility of cultural pluralism as the basic mode in a given society. These psychological developments, usually being both cause and effect of pluralistic functioning, would probably include heightened awareness of and sensitivity to cultural differences; increased knowledge and understanding of other cultures; increased skills in dealing with problems of cultural diversity; and a strong and conscious commitment to peaceful problem solving and cooperative action, to equality in inter-group relations, and to democratic procedures.

With reference to the last point, it also could be added that cultural pluralism can be regarded as the ultimate test of democratic relations both on the individual and the collective level. The rewards of these developments for individuals are immeasurable and would include a broadening of social consciousness, an immense increase in interactive possibilities and capacities, resulting in an expansion of personal freedom and of self in general.

American ethnic pluralism. The reality of contemporary ethnic pluralism in the world, for the most part, falls short of the above conditions. With the exception of tiny Switzerland with its 600 years of pluralistic ideology, most other pluralistic states are more or less in the process of their ideological crystallization. In most instances, the main problem remains the recognition by the dominant groups of the "uncompromising equality" of other groups involved. However, as each case is unique in its historical, geographic, economic, political, social, and cultural conditions, it is dangerous to make any generalizations without a thorough analysis.

The American orientation toward ethnic pluralism can be seen as developing from three historical sources: the idealistic formulation of the new nation's constitutional proclamations, its colonial origins, and the massive influx of nearly 50 million immigrants during its 200 years of existence. The constitutional proclamations, born out of the French revolution and the social philosophies of its times, particularly that of Rousseau's concept of the contractual relationship between the free and equal individual and the supreme state, gave rise to the strong emphasis on the individual, with the near exclusion of all intermediary group commitments including religious, cultural, and even family commitments.

The inspiring constitutional documents were formulated as was thought to be best for the times, and the future of the new country was never considered in pluralistic terms. With its over one hundred and fifty years of colonial existence, the society was essentially British in composition, language, and in its already established main institutional structures. There was already a noticeable and increasing element of culturally diverse immigrants, but the numbers were small and they succumbed rather easily to the assimilating power of the dominant group. The agrarian life style and the necessity of dispersed settlement patterns of newcomers were important if not determining factors in what is now called the assimilation period in the history of American immigration.

But the colonial origins had also some unfortunate consequences. Despite the idealistic constitutional formulations, it was difficult to shed ingrained habits of superiority over others--at first Indians, then Blacks, then immigrants from non-British countries--especially the Irish, the non-Western Europeans, the Latin-Americans, and the Asians, These attitudes were not just flaws, as

Greeley puts it, in the practical implementation of ideals;[42] they were rather conscious interpretations of the constitutional declarations as essentially being applicable only to the existing society, conceived and created in the image of its founders. These attitudes affected both non-whites and whites, though not equally. Whites were considered to be assimilable, i.e., they could become equals on condition of conformity to the dominant group.

Thus racism and suppression of cultural diversity both derive from the same roots, i.e., the superiority attitudes of the dominant group over others. Initiated in the colonial period, these attitudes became ingrained in American culture and resulted in manifestations reflecting the basic "American dilemma." However, despite these ethnocentric deviations, the constitutional framework held, justifying the faith of its authors and constituting the conscience of the new nation throughout its history. Nativist fears that the large numbers of culturally diverse immigrants would cause divisiveness and destructive conflicts proved to be unfounded. As Greeley points out, the only serious internal conflict in American history, the Civil War "was basically a conflict between two Anglo-Saxon groups."[43] It could be added that the Civil War and the Black Revolution are also the main manifestations of the nation's historical struggle towards a pluralistic concept which would reconcile its ideals with its reality.

This struggle includes several historical phases. The period of assimilationist ideology aimed at complete absorption of "foreign" elements ended when rapid industrialization caused large numbers of culturally diverse immigrants to concentrate in urban industrial centers, thus rendering inoperable the assimilationist social philosophy based on an agrarian lifestyle and the dispersion of immigrants. A new concept was needed to reflect the reality of both the socio-political forces in society and the non-assimilability of newcomers concentrated in their neighborhoods and communities.

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[42] Andrew M. Greeley, "Why Study Ethnicity?" in Pastora San Juan Cafferty and Leon Chestang, eds., The Diverse Society (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers, 1967), 5-6.

[43] Ibid., 6.

The melting pot theory, based on the blending of all elements into a new type of human being superior to all ingredients of the blend, was the answer.[44] It gave ethnic groups an illusion of equality and left the power base of the dominant group untouched. Though politically unrealistic and psychologically unsound, it provided a nearly religious hope for change and for universal solutions.

Parallel to the melting pot theory, ideas of cultural pluralism were formulated by Kallen and further explored by his contemporaries, Berkson and Drachsler.[45] To Kallen, pluralism becomes an end in itself. His dream is a nation based on cultural enclaves, a federation of ethnic groups with no need for administrative, regional or political divisions. Cultural diversity is to Kallen not only a direct implementation of democracy, but an expression of human nature and one of its primary needs. The preservation by immigrants of their culture is a sacred human right.

As convincing as these ideas about man's tendency toward diversity and toward preservation of his cultural background may be, Kallen was not able to provide the basic theoretical framework for them. His extreme conclusions were regarded as an impractical ideal rather than a realistic structural and functional model for society. Consequently, his concept of cultural pluralism had little direct impact on society. However, the ideas of cultural pluralism survived and continued to nourish the imagination of writers in various fields.

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[44] The "Melting Pot" concept, already used by earlier writers was popularized by Israel Zangwill in his play, The Melting Pot, 1909.

[45] Horace M. Kallen, Culture and Democracy in the United States, (Boni and Livwright, 1924); Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea, (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956); "Democracy Versus the Melting Pot," The Nation, C (1915); Isaac B. Berkson, Theories of Americanization: A Critical Study, with Special Reference to the Jewish Group, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920); Julius Drachsler, Democracy and Assimilation: The Blending of Immigrant Heritages in America, (New York: The McMillan Co., 1920).

The failure of the ideas of cultural pluralism to gain greater popularity, together with other historical events such as the "closing of the gates" of immigration in the 20's and the two World Wars with the accompanying Americanization programs led to an apparent total victory of the melting pot ideology which in practice became, as could be expected, only a semantic variation of the assimilation ideology of the 19th century.

Reality, however, could not be ignored. The hopes of the "melting pot" followers for betterment or for a new type of American were not realized, nor were the hopes of the dominant group for the disappearance of ethnic groups. The lack of inclusion of non-white groups in the melting pot concept gave the lie to the universal solution. The ensuing Black Revolution and the following resurgence of ethnicity were only logical reactions to these misconceptions.

The recently proclaimed "new ethnicity" can thus be interpreted as an attempt to reformulate ethnic pluralism as the central theme of American social history based on the key concepts of inclusiveness, equality, and mutual acceptance of all components of society. This theme could also be seen as an expression of the American genius in using the pluralistic roots for untold growth of the society's internal strength and its world leadership role.

The present state of American pluralism can be characterized as follows:

1. A continuous strong commitment to the constitutional ideals and their extension to principles of ethnic group intensity and equality.

2. The existence of an unchallenged, stable institutional framework and of common language, and a strong national bond based on growing acceptance of the pluralistic nature of society.
3. Survival of white ethnic diversity, still vital enough to count as a political, social, and cultural force and strong claims by these groups for legitimacy and recognition of their rights to cultivate their cultural heritage.
4. The rise of dynamic non-white ethnic groups with their primary interest in equal opportunities, as well as in cultural expression and continuity.

Predominantly non-territorial in its character and not differentiated linguistically in public life, American ethnic pluralism, though still lacking ideological and theoretical formulation, is increasingly recognized as an American reality. While division into white and non-white ethnicity persists, there is increasing awareness of common interests and goals within the framework of American society.

The question of the future of ethnicity in American society cannot be answered unequivocally. However, if present trends of increasing acceptance and recognition of ethnic pluralism as a constructive force in society continue, it may be possible that a state of cultural democracy, as envisioned by Vickery and Cole in 1943 and reintroduced recently by Ramirez and Castaneda,[46] based on biculturalism[47] (i.e. maintaining both American and Ethnic identity) in communal and individual life will become a recognized official pattern in American society.

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[46] William E. Vickery and Stewart G. Cole, Intercultural Education in American Schools (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1943); Manuel Ramirez III and Alfredo Casteneda, Cultural Democracy, Bicognitive Development, and Education, (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

[47] A concept developed by Richard Kolm, "The Change of Cultural Diversity," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1967.

Ethnicity and Social Work

Ethnicity in social work practice

As previously mentioned, social workers have been largely aware of the cultural diversity in society and have coped with it individually in practice as well as they could; but they have always had difficulty in relating theoretically these cultural differences to problems of individual growth and behavior, and consequently have been unable to deal with them effectively. It was further asserted that the lack of an adequate theoretical framework interrelating the social, cultural, and personality factors was the main reason for this dilemma. In the subsequent analysis, it was shown that psychoanalytic theory, still thought to be the mainstay of social work practice, does not lend itself to the interpretation of social and cultural factors. To explain this interrelationship, the social interaction theory was used as a basis for further discussion and it was concluded that no adequate interpretation of personality growth and development is possible without considering the social and cultural factors involved.

As it was not possible to interrelate universal individualistic psychoanalytic theory with social and cultural reality, American social workers have accepted existing social philosophies aimed at conformity of the diverse ethnic population to the model imposed by the dominant groups. Emphasizing adjustment to middle class Anglo-American standards, American social workers inadvertently assumed the role of acculturation agents rather than working within the framework of American sociocultural reality.

The Black Revolution and the resurgence of ethnic awareness in society have led to self examination by the profession and to considerable adjustment in practice orientations, particularly with regard to deprived minorities and their needs. It also brought about a heightened awareness of the profession's role in society and a greater sensitivity to the cultural diversity of American society. Consequently, there is a growing need for greater knowledge and understanding of cultural differences and of their significance to social work practice, and for special skills to deal with problems related to these differences. Underlying these needs is the growing consciousness among social workers that common sense and experience alone are not sufficient to deal with the problem of relationship between personality growth and development and sociocultural environment, and that a new theoretical interpretation is necessary to adequately understand human behavior and to be effective in professional practice.

Inclusion of sociocultural environment into interpretation of human development is not a matter of just added knowledge; it involves changing the concept of the human being from biological to social. It requires new perceptions and conceptualizations of human growth and development and consequent changes in the professional knowledge base, as well as new professional skills. What Parsons wrote in 1958 is probably still true today:

> . . .internalization of the sociocultural environment provides the basis, not merely of one special component of the human personality, but of what in the human sense, is its central core. From the standpoint of the main traditions of modern psychology this is a very radical position, so radical that its import has not yet been very widely appreciated.[48]

In terms of traditional professional requirements regarding attitudes, knowledge, and skills, reorientation would involve

(a) As attitudinal prerequisites:

recognition of cultural-ethnic pluralism in the world, nation, community, agency, etc., not only as unavoidable reality but as a positive and constructive factor in human existence and development;

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[48] Parsons, "Social Structure and the Development of Personality," 80

unconditional acceptance of cultural backgrounds in clients, not as a disposable bag of traditions, customs, values, etc., preserved from the past, but as an integral part of their personality;

recognition of the inalienable right of groups and their individual members to cultivate and preserve their culture and to socialize their children in it and of their right to self determination regarding adjustment and changes in their ways of life.

(b) Acquisition of specific knowledge and understanding of:

the relationship of sociocultural environment to personality development;

concepts of culture, society, and personality and their theoretical relationship;

American social and cultural history, including that of the major ethnic groups in society and the given community, and containing the essential demographic and sociological characteristics.

(c) Development of skills:

full consideration of the sociocultural factors in any given case--individual, group, community;[49]

the capacity to distinguish between cultural traits and behavior in the client and those resulting from individual life experience, especially in the family;

the capacity to establish rapport with clients of different ethnic backgrounds and to make them talk freely about their cultural patterns;

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[49] For an attempt at such "cultural analysis," see the article by Danuta Mostwin, "Ethnicity in the Teaching of Social Work Practice," in this report. Infra, 104-157.

skillful use of cultural analysis in the diagnostic process and formulation of treatment plans;

the ability to use cultural backgrounds constructively in treating ethnic clients.

The most important attribute of the social worker in dealing with sociocultural aspects is, however, a heightened sensitivity to sociocultural factors and their impact on the given concrete case. Another important factor in cultural analysis is the sensitivity to prejudice and discrimination, both as generalized in society and as relevant to concrete cases. As helpful as knowledge and understanding may be in sensitizing oneself to cultural differences, it is, in the end, direct experience and active interest that are decisive.

All these elements could be analyzed with reference to specific social work categories, such as methods of practice, phases of the helping process, etc. With regard to methods of practice, a special analysis of the application of these elements to community organization would be called for.[50] However, this would exceed the scope of this paper and will have to be handled separately.[51]

If these requirements seem demanding, they are only a reflection of American reality and, perhaps, human reality in general and most likely will become a decisive factor in the effectiveness of social workers and of the profession in the near future. Though the final responsibility for full development of these attitudes, knowledge, and skills will always rest with the individual practitioner, the laying of foundations for these requirements will be the basic task of social work education.

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[50] For a discussion of the significance of sociocultural factors in community organization, see the article by D. S. Harrington, Infra, 159-177.

[51] See also numerous recent articles in social work and related journals: Gordon Hamilton," Foreword," and Howard D. Stein and Richard A. Cloward, "Preface," both in Howard Stein and Richard A. Cloward, eds., Social Perspectives on Behavior (New York: The Free Press, 1958), xi-xix; W. Wilson and J. F. Calhoun. "Behavior Theory and the Minority Client," Psychotherapy: Theory, Research, and Practice, 11 (4), 1974, 317-325; Judith W. Klein, "Ethnotherapy with Jews," International Journal of Mental Health, 5 (2), 1976, 26-38; Viola W. Weiss and R. R. Monroe, "A Framework for Understanding Family Dynamics," Part I, Social Casework, 40 (1), January 1959, 3-9;

Ethnicity in Social Work Education

As stated at the beginning, the purpose of this paper was to analyze the problem of integration of sociocultural factors in general, and specifically of ethnicity, into the curriculum of schools of social work with special emphasis on some of the obstacles involved in this integration. For their relevance to social work education, the previous discussions can be summarized as focusing on:

1. The need for inclusion of ethnicity and of sociocultural factors in social work education.
2. The need for a comprehensive theoretical framework which would facilitate the understanding not only of the individual, but also of the larger social and cultural systems and the interrelations of these, thus providing social workers with an adequate knowledge base for their functioning in a helping profession.
3. The present lack of such comprehensive theories fully suited to the needs of social work practice, and the consequent necessity of using appropriate social science theories interrelated with the working theories used

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Nicholas Dunkas and Arthur G. Nikelly, "Group Psychotherapy with Greek Immigrants," International Journal of Group Psychotherapy, 25 (4), (October 1975): 402-409; Joseph Giordano, "Community Mental Health in a Pluralistic Society," International Journal of Mental Health, 5, (2), (1976): 5 -15; Moses Newsome, Jr., "Neighborhood Service Centers in the Black Community," Social Work, 18, (March 1973): 50-54.

in social work education at the present.

4. The need for recognition and acceptance by the social work profession of ethnicity and ethnic pluralism as an integral part of American reality and as positive elements to be used constructively in social work practice for the development of individuals, groups, communities, and society as a whole, and as essential elements to be included in the development of professional knowledge and skills.

As the above points represent the content of this paper, it could be said that everything stated so far is directly relevant to the subject of ethnicitiy in social work education. Viewed from the point of view of the inclusion of ethnicity in the curriculum of schools of social work, these four points can also be viewed as referring to (1) the rationale for introducing ethnicity into social work education. (2) the integration of ethnicity into social work theory, and (3) the total integration of ethnicity and ethnic pluralism into the curriculum of schools of social work as essential elements of social work practice.

The rationale for introducing ethnicity in social work education. Throughout the paper, ethnicity was viewed within the larger context of sociocultural factors as related to social work theory and practice, and to social work as a profession in society. It was contended that theoretically, "ethnicity" is directly related to the concept of culture and, correspondingly, "ethnic group" is related to the concept of society, and that consequently, both these terms can only be understood within the larger context of sociocultural theories.

Though the terms ethnicity and ethnic pluralism have been introduced to social work only recently and are not yet widely known and used in social work, a number of writers have written extensively on the subject of ethnicity and ethnic pluralism and on the need for their inclusion in the curriculum of schools of social work. Thus, Hollis, in her major publication, repeatedly stresses the significance of ethnic factors in casework treatment.[52] Sanders most explicitly calls for a prerequisite of cross-cultural perspectives throughout the entire curriculum to enhance cross-cultural pluralistic perspectives,[53] and stresses the need for providing all students with a basic understanding and knowledge of the major American ethnic groups.[54] Mirelowitz and Grossman emphasize the vitality and preservation of identity in ethnic groups and suggest the development by social workers of a typology of coping capacities and strategies at the level of the individual, the group, the family, and the community, using ethnic populations as a resource.[55]

Mathis presents a conceptual overview of Black social development and of major historical development within social work education, and suggests a framework applicable to the needs of the Black community.[56] Similarly, many other writers contribute directly or indirectly to the subject.[57]

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[52] Florence Hollis, Casework, A Psycho-Social Therapy, (New York: Random House, 1964).

[53] Daniel Sanders, "Educating Social Workers for the Role of Effective Change Agents in a Multicultural Society," Journal of Education for Social Work, 10, (2), (1974): 86-92.

[54] Daniel S. Sanders, "Dynamics of American Cultural Pluralism: Implication for Social Education and Curriculum Innovation," Journal of Education for Social Work, 2, (3) (1975): 95-100.

[55] Seymour Mirelowitz and Leona Grossman, "Ethnicity: An Intervening Variable in Social Work Education," Journal of Education for Social Work, 2, (34), (1975): 76-83.

[56] Thaddeus Mathis, "Educating for Black Social Development: The Politics of Social Organization," Journal of Education for Social Work, 2, (1), (1925): 105-113.

[57] William Gordon, "Toward a Social Work Frame of Reference," Journal of Education for Social Work, 1, (2), (1965): 19-27; Geneva Gay, "Organizing and

An interesting experiment, focusing on the cross-cultural experience in preparing students to function in a bilingual situation, is reported by Schwartz et al.[58]

In their rationale for greater emphasis on sociocultural factors in social work, most of these writers refer to the usual elements, such as historical development, the objectives of social work as a profession, the pluralistic nature of American society, the reality of social work practice, and others. While most of these factors are also discussed in this paper, the main emphasis [illegible] the rationale developed here is on the need for a comprehensive theoretical framework in social work interrelating personality with social and cultural systems.

Theoretical integration. As discussed previously, a comprehensive theoretical framework for social work practice is necessary in order to ensure understanding of human behavior, consistency in intervening action and accountability in professional functioning. The comprehensiveness of the framework was referred to as involving the inclusion of sociocultural factors related to individual development and social functioning as well as to the functioning of groups, communities and society. The symbolic interaction theory was used as an illustration for such a theoretical framework. It was also pointed out that the eclectic approach, though most desirable as a broadening of the knowledge base, cannot be regarded as an adequate substitute for a comprehensive theoretical framework in professional functioning.

Designing Culturally Pluralistic Curriculum," Educational Leadership, (Dec., 1975): 176-183; John B. Turner, "Education for Practice with Minorities," Social Work, 17, (3), (1972): 112-118; Charles Farris, "The American Indian: Social Work Education's Neglected Minority," Journal of Education for Social Work, 11, (2), (Spring 1975): 37-43; Barbara Cowan (Turner), "Overseas Placement: An Educational Experiment," Journal of Education for Social Work, 11, (2), (Spring 1975): 18-24.

[58] Florence Schwartz, Fritz A. Fluckiger, and Irving Weisman, A Cross-Cultural Encounter: A Non Traditional Approach to Social Work Education, (San Francisco: R & E Research Assoc., 1977).

There are important implications of the above, both for the learner and for the teacher in social work education. For the learner it refers to the necessity of acquiring a sound knowledge base for adequate future professsional functioning: it implies thorough understanding of the three main elements of human behavior and development: personality, society and culture, and of their intricate interrelationship, as a prerequisite for professional competence and accountability. As the aim of all theoretical integration is explanation, the comprehensiveness of explanation of professional functioning in society may also be directly related to the image and status of the profession in society.

For the social work educator, a comprehensive theory of human behavior and development, (including both the individual and collective manifestations and of their interrelationships), becomes in the light of the above approach, a prerequisite for effective teaching and training. In a sense, all attributes of good teaching such as clarity, logical and consistent formulation, power of explanation, etc., imply sound theoretical thinking and, consequently, sound theoretical frameworks. Correspondingly, a comprehensive theoretical framework facilitates also sound curriculum development. It makes possible the necessary organization of relevant knowledge into meaningful, consistent and mutually reinforcing sequences and units which, in view of the enormous volume and complexity of existing knowledge on human behavior and development and of the short two-year period of the master's program, becomes an imperative of successful professional education.

Finally, theory notwithstanding, it also has become impossible since the Black revolution to speak, in social work, of individuals as if unrelated to their social and cultural environment. Thus the divergence, in the past, between theory and practice in social work referred to by Pollak is no longer feasible.[59]

The integration of sociocultural factors in social work theory has, as previously stated, its antecedents, both in social science and in psychoanalysis. The notable attempts by Sullivan, Pollak and Parsons have been briefly mentioned. Sullivan's approach, derived from G. H. Mead's interaction theory, focuses on the dynamics of interpersonal relationships as the basis of individual development and functioning. Aimed mainly at the development of a new psychiatric theory, Sullivan's analysis did not emphasize the larger elements of society and culture. However, for his general conceptual linguistic framework and for his focus on therapeutic aspects, as related to the individual in interaction with others, Sullivan's approach may be considered to be closeest to the framework of social work practice. Pollak's attempt to integrate gestalt theory with social work practice contains a number of interesting aspects and deserves further analysis.[60]

From the purely theoretical standpoint, Parson's analysis, which integrates psychoanalytic concepts with social theory, is the most complete one. Parson's thorough understanding of psychoanalytic theory and his use of it as a basic framework for integration of the sociocultural factors, makes his analysis both unique and relevant to social work. However, the exclusive focus on theoretical aspects, the lack of references to therapeutic applications and the difficult technical language do not make his writings easily intelligible to casual readers.[61]

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[59] Supra, 12.

[60] See also Mostwin's paper in this volume for her use of the gestalt theory in social work analysis.

[61] For references in this paper to the above three writers, please see Supra, 9-12.

Also to be noted here is the recent increase in popularity of the concept of "person and situation" in social work literature. Derived from Thomas' "definition of the situation" it has been used and developed by Gilbert and Specht.[62] Other relevant recent developments include the application of the communication theory to therapy,[63] and the increasing interest of social workers in systems theory.[64] It can be observed that all these recent theoretical approaches in social work can be directly related to the interaction theory and can be regarded as being social in their essence.

While the gestalt theory and system theory take a more generalized and inclusive view of interactional units, communications theory takes a more particularistic standpoint emphasizing only certain aspects of the interactional theory. Though having perhaps the potential, none of these above approaches has so far dealt explicitly with ethnicity or ethnic groups as related to therapy or to social work practice.

The above review of past and recent approaches to the inclusion of sociocultural factors in the intervention practice provides the range of possibilities in curricular applications. In view of the lack of an integrated theoretical framework fully applicable to social work, and of the previously taken standpoint on eclectic approaches, any of the above or similar approaches could be used as a basic framework for curriculum development. Considering the essentially social nature of these approaches, the inclusion of the larger sociocultural aspects, and of ethnicity, is usually only a matter of logical extension of the basic premises and propositions of the chosen framework. Such self-conceived extension requires, however, a thorough familiarity with the theoretical interpretations of these aspects.

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[62] Neil Gilbert and Specht, Dimensions of Social Welfare Policy, (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1974); W. T. Thomas and Florian Znanicki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, (Chicago: University of Schicago Press, 1918-1920).

[63] Jurgen Reusch and Gregory Bateson, Communication, The Social Matrix of Psychiatry, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1951); Paul Watzlavick, Janet Helnick and Don O. Jackson, Pragmatics of Human Communications; A Study of Interactional Patterns, Pathalogies and Paradoxes, (New York: W.W. Norton, 1967).

[64] Gordon Hearn, ed., The General Systems Approach. Contributions Toward an Holistic Conception of Social Work, (New York: Council of Social Work Education, 1969); Allen Pincus and Anne Minihan, Social Work Practice: Model and Method (Itasca, Illinois: F.E. Peacock Publishers, 1973).

Curricular implementation. The key to successful implementation of the curricular changes suggested above is, as always in such a case, preparation. The pervasive nature of the relevance of sociocultural factors, including ethnicity, to all curricular areas renders the preparations even more important--and makes the involvement of the whole faculty a necessity.

The usual elements of such preparations as the assessment of the involvement of sequences and core courses in the change, of available faculty expertise (internal and external), of library resources and teaching aids, and the revision of course syllabi, and bibliographies and the choice of textbooks are all essential, though the most crucial factor remains the preparation of the regular faculty. Discussions of the rationale for the change and, above all, of the theoretical aspects involved, whether in special faculty workshops or in a series of topical sessions, are again the usual means for achieving common meanings essential for cooperative effort and, in the end, for the effectiveness of the change.

The central area of curricular planning in social work education is obviously the basic training continuum of theory, method and practice. The integration of corresponding curricular sequences of human behavior and social environment, of social work methods and of field practice, provides the mutual reinforcements essential for professional training. Consequently the simultaneous introduction of conceptually integrated and interrelated changes in these sequences is basic for achieving optimum results. Only close cooperation of faculty involved in these sequences--or, as often practiced, a takeover by one faculty member, of all three, or two, of the training elements for a unit of students--will assure such results.

The curricular integration of sociocultural factors and ethnicity involves, obviously, the remaining sequences of social welfare policy and of research. The authors of a recent publication by the National Association of Social Workers argue for "the necessity of acknowledging American ethnic diversity in the formulation and implementation of public policies."[65] The role of the social work research sequence in reinforcing and aiding curricular endeavors and professional interests in social work education is well recognized.[66]

The successful curricular integration of sociocultural factors and ethnicity will thus be achieved as a combined effort of sound theoretical analysis, of curricular planning and of faculty cooperation.[67] The beneficiaries of this effort will be, above all, the students and their future clients and, consequently, the social work profession and the society.

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[65] Pastora San Juan Cafferty and Leon Chestang, eds, *The Diverse Society: Implications for Social Policy*, (Washington, DC: National Association of Social Workers, 1976); see also the article by Edward Ryle in this report, Infra, 179-230.

[66] For details of implementation see the article by Zoe Carrigan in this report. Infra, 232-274.

[67] For details of methodological aspects of curricular integration see the article by David Guttmann in this report. Infra, 276-294.

CHAPTER 2

Ethnicity in the Teaching of Human Behavior and the Social Environment

by
Mary J. Flynn

Ethnicity in the Teaching of Human Behavior and the Social Environment

Mary J. Flynn

Introduction

The following is a teaching module prepared for use in the first semester of the academic year 1976-77. The module emphasizes the teaching of Ethnicity in the Human Behavior and Social Environment course. It includes:

Evolution of Ethnicity in Social Work Curriculum
Human Behavior and Social Environment Courses
The Pilot Project
Methodology
Student Learning
Conclusion
Life Cycle Annotated Bibliography

The evolution of ethnicity in social work curricula

Social work is and always has been conceived as something one does. Another way of stating it is "social work is an applied discipline." But what one does is fundamentally based on what one believes and knows. The knowing can be conscious or unconscious. In our professional schools we develop a program which gives the students a knowledge base for their practice. Identifying and teaching a coherent body of knowledge is not easily achieved and over the years the process has been plagued with difficulties.

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In recent years we have become aware of the need to integrate ethnic content into all of the courses taught in Schools of Social Work. This paper is to address part of that very issue. It will present the effort made to integrate ethnic content into the basic Human Behavior and Social Environment courses at the National Catholic School of Social Service (NCSSS).

Before beginning a brief historical approach to ethnic and cultural differences in America it is necessary, first, to define the term "ethnicity." It is defined concisely by Kolm as "identified with cultural uniqueness historically derived, meaning that it has existed over several generations."[1] In a broad sense, ethnicity would include differences in ethnic background, religion, race, language and cultural traditions, but the group is linked together by a cultural tradition and common heredity. Greeley suggest three conditions when ethnicity may become an important consideration:

1. a situation in which an ethnic group is sufficiently large and has appreciable "actual or potential political and economic power,"
2. when a person belongs to a "small but highly visible or well-organized minority,"
3. when a "sophisticated group" discovers suddenly that it is a minority and is surrounded by a number of well organized ethnic groups.[2]

The concept of America being a "melting pot" probably originated with Jean de Crevacoeur, who wrote in 1782 in his "Letters from an American Farmer" that in the United States "individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men."[3]

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[1] Richard Kolm, "Ethnicity and the Ethnic Family in Social Work," Paper read at a conference, The American Family, Catholic University, Washington, D. C., April 4-5, 1977.

[2] Gerald Leewand, General Editor, "Minorities All,"(Washington: Square Press, 1971.)

In Hull House, a settlement house, was opened. Its founders, Jane Addams and Ellen Starr, wanted to help immigrants who were settling in Chicago, Illinois in large numbers during the late 1800's. Although its founders were not speaking of cultural pluralism they were keenly aware of the needs of the immigrants as a unique group.

In 1909 Israel Zangwill's play, The Melting Pot was first performed on Broadway and the concept of ethnic melting became the mode for many years to follow. A Russian-Jewish immigrant to England visiting America described America:

> America is God's Crucible, the great Melting Pot where all races of Europe are melting and reforming! Here you stand, good folk, think I, when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand in your fifty groups with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty hatreds and rivalries, but you won't be long like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God. A fig for your feuds and vendettas! Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians--into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American . . . The real American has not yet arrived. He is only in the Crucible, I tell you--he will be the fusion of all races the coming superman.[4]

John Dewey, in 1916, introduced the concept of cultural pluralism in an address before the National Education Association.

Then, in 1917, Mary Richmond published her book, Social Diagnosis. Mary Richmond herself moved further than the Hull House approach, recognizing that human behavior is very much influenced by one's ethnic and cultural background and that these influences are not to be ignored. She stated:

> In dealing with foreign clients, the caseworker finds himself in danger of falling into one or two errors: he may think of them as members of a colony or of a nationality having such and such fixed characteristic, or he may ignore national and racial characteristics and try to apply to them the same standards of measure

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[3] Daniel Sanders, "Dynamic of Ethnic and Cultural Pluralism," Journal of Education for Social Work 2 (3), (Fall 1975): 96.

[4] Israel Zangwill, The Melting Pot, (New York: MacMillan and Co., 1909), 37.

> that he would apply to his fellow countrymen. Before long, he will have learned that he cannot ignore national characteristics altogether.[5]

The first definition of psycho-social diagnosis was stated by Mary Richmond "as exact a definition as possible of the social situation and personality of a given client."[6] Making as exact a definition as possible of human behavior and the social environment of necessity included ethnic and cultural content. This sensitivity in 1917 was not too often remembered in the years that followed.

In an address before the National Education Association of 1924 Horace Kallen unsuccessfully sought to show how cultural pluralism made American life rich[7]. Our general educational system was not ready to look at diversity as our special national quality. We were very busy addressing the need to look, speak, think and act alike. The American public school system was one very effective way of achieving this. Children's behavior in schools was directed toward greater conformity to the dominant group in society and therefore, the insights of Dewey and Kallen were not encouraged or developed. They, like Mary Richmond, were ahead of their time.

Following World War II and the holocaust in Europe, a new wave of immigrants arrived and their reasons were different for coming to America. They also found a different America than did immigrants at the end and turn of the 19th century. At this time we seemed to be more sensitive to the new immigrant, which warranted a new type of research and study that includes socio-cultural heritage. For example, in New York, the American Council for Service to Nationalities Group was established in 1945, which focused on ethnic uniqueness for the incoming groups. Also, the American Jewish Committee was very active, with its inter-group relations program emphasizing elimination of prejudice and discrimination. These groups stressed a more serious approach to differences in background and how these differences affected human behavior.

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[5] Mary Richmond, Social Diagnosis, (Russell Sage Foundation, 1917, The Free Press, Paperback Edition, 1965), 6.

[6] Carol H. Meyer, Social Work Practice, (New York, The Free Press, 1976),

[7] William Hunter, ed., Multicultural Education through Competency-Based Teacher Education, (Washington, D.C.: American Assoc. of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1974), 15.

In 1950 we find a breakthrough for social work. The New York School of Social Work (later to be known as The Columbia University School of Social Work) began a study group with individuals from Social Work and Social Science, and with a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation, undertook a two-year study to develop social-cultural content in social work curriculum. The results were published by the Council on Social Work Education. The publication, Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework was a casebook on seven ethnic studies: Italian-Americans, Czech immigrants, Puerto-Rican newcomers and the Orthodox Jewish refugees. This casebook, prepared by the New York Cultural Project under the direction of Kathleen Spencer and Mary E. Hurlbutt, was a beginning look at the cultural influences in a client's daily life although basically it focused on problems of adjustment. It was not a project that addressed ethnicity per se or in depth. But it was a substantial beginning. Actually, it remains to date the only publication of the Council on Social Work Education has published on the subject.

In 1954 the Supreme Court handed down It's ruling respecting school desegregation in America. During this period, until the 1960's, we began to see social work literature using the word "ethnicity", and there was a growing awareness of ethnic influences that needed to be recognized before adequate diagnosis and treatment could be prescribed (Herbert Stein 1955). In Stein's article, "The Concept of Social Environment," he stresses the "existence of ethnic influences in personality and behavior."[8]

At the 82nd Annual Forum of the National Conference on Social Welfare in Columbus, Ohio In 1955, there was a series of papers on segregation, desegregation and integration in relation to human behavior and the social environment. They were later published under the title Minority Group Segregation and Integration.

In the 1960's we find the Civil Rights Movement, Johnson's Great Society Program and the establishment of the Office of Economic Opportunity (OEO). James Baldwin gave the Civil Rights movement a broader base saying:

> It is not really a "Negro Revolution" that is upsetting the country. What is upsetting this country is a sense of its own identity. If, for example, one managed to change the curriculum in all the schools so that Negroes learned more about themselves and their real contributions to this culture, you would be liberating not only Negroes, you'd be liberating white people who know nothing about their own history. And the reason is that if you are compelled to lie about one aspect of anybody's history, you must lie about it all. If you have to pretend that I hoed all that cotton just because I loved it, then you have done something to yourself.[9]

Mildred Dickerman sums up the general tenure of the time saying:

> If the traditional structures, roles, behaviors, religious beliefs and other values of American ethnic communitys are absent from most schools, equally missing are folk literatures, art, music of all these groups, which have given expression to their experiences. A large part of these cultural expressions deal with the experiences of poverty, discrimination, intergroup conflicts and pressures for conformity.[10]

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[8] Herman D. Stein, "The Concept of the Social Environment in Social Work Practice," Smith College Studies in Social Work, Vol 30 (3), 1960. Reprinted in Ego-Oriented Casework Problems and Perspectives, ed. by Howard J. Parad, Roger Miller, FSA, 1963

[9] James Baldwin, "A Talk to Teachers," Teaching Multicultural Populations--Five Heritages, (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1971), 83-84.

[10] Mildred Dickerman, "Teaching Cultural Pluralism," Teaching Ethnic Studies--Concepts and Strategies,

The racial and ethnic awareness of the times is further illustrated in the comments by the authors of the "Introduction" for Teachers for the Real World:

> What passes for instruction in history typically suffers from ommission and distortion: the evils of slavery are mitigated, the genocidal wars against Indian nations are played down, and the wars of aggression against Mexico are denied. Is it any wonder that Blacks, Mexicans, Indians become disengaged from a process where engagement would require the acceptance of insult and slur? It is not enough to extirpate racism. It is necessary to develop pride in social identiy.[11]

In 1970 new developments that influenced human behavior concepts began to appear in papers like those of Danuta Mostwin.[12] We heard the terms "Ethnic-Americans" which includes Europeans from Eastern, Central, Western Europe also Asian Americans, Hispanic Americans, Jewish Americans, Native Americans, Chinese Americans, Japanese Americans, newer group Vietnamese, Cambodians, Koreans all cry out for special recognition. This is further recognized by the Ethnic Heritage Studies Act of 1972 calling for all persons in educational institutions of the nation to have an opportunity to learn about the differing and unique contributions to the national heritage made by each ethnic group. At the same time there was a recognition that,

> Most teachers do not have adequate knowledge of the various cultural systems from which their pupils come. It has been assumed for too long that good teachers can teach everyone, and that such teachers can provide for the necessary emotional and learning needs of children from diverse cultural backgrounds.[13]

Strong position statements and publications are appearing in support of the abandonment of the "melting pot" concept and the emphasis on assimilation to a common culture. Multicultural education positions are developed by groups such as National Education Association (NEA), Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) and the National Council for the Social Studies, B'nai B'rith Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), the National Council of Churches, Council on Social Work Education (CSWE), National Association of Social Workers (NASW). Without a doubt, all see the need for an approach that will take into account what we owe the nation. In stressing the need for such a broad human behavior approach Nathan Glazer suggests the following principles and framework that merit consideration.

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[11] B.O. Thamel Smith, Teachers for the Real World, (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges Education, 1969), 6.

[12] Danuta Mostwin, "In Search of Ethnic Identity," Social Case Work 53, May 1973.

[13] Hunter, 246.

1. It is the individual who is paramount and not the group.
2. The primary institutions in society--the civil service, the schools, the employment agencies--should be public and supraethnic.
3. It is preferable that ethnic and racial groups maintain themselves and their institutions voluntarily.
4. The desirability of government adopting a benign attitude and relationship to group formation, so long as such efforts do not harm the interests of other individuals.
5. The necessity of government acting to redress situations in which particular groups, in spite of positive efforts to enforce individual rights, continue to remain poor and powerless.
6. The importance of considering what we owe to the total society of which we are a part--a minimal degree of common culture, common language, and common loyalty.[14]

To date, schools, government agencies, society and individual are sensitized to the limitations of the past melting pot concept and are now more inclined toward "salad bowl" concept to describe todays situation with ethnic and cultural minorities--unique richness side by side, alike and different all under one flag. The idea is that ethnic groups and individuals are to keep their uniqueness and still be part of the American scene. This growing awareness of ethnic and cultural pluralism has the potential of deepening social communication as each diverse group enriches its own uniqueness and participates with others in diverse social and cultural life. This is being emphasized at national conferences and in professional journals.

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[14] Nathan Glazer, "Issues of Cultural Pluralism in America Today,"

The basic challenge presented to social work educational institutions by the new thrust of the awareness of the needs and the rich heritage of ethnic minorities is to reestablish our courses in order to integrate ethnic content, thus helping students, who are tomorrows practitioners, to become more sensitized to their own ethnic base and to the needs of all ethnic groups. (See Mostwin in this report). We have finally come to recognize the heritage each individual has and brings to every social situation in which she/he engages. It is no longer a debatable issue. We have come a long way and now the task is one of integrating this knowledge in meaningful and significant ways. The following project attempted to address the issue in the required Human Behavior and the Social Environment courses.

The human behavior and social environment courses

If we look at the areas where social workers are employed we will see that they are placed in a wide variety of public and private institutions in society. Their services to society cover the breadth and depth of society itself. They work with individuals, families, groups. They are policy makers, organizers, movers and shakers in neighborhoods, caseworkers, etc. Without a doubt, social work is the most diverse of all the human service professions. Mary Richmond insisted that we keep our doors open if not to directly serve at least to explore the situation. This presents a problem in organizing a Human Behavior and Social Environment theory course. What should be taught to social workers about human behavior has been discussed over the years. The diversity and scope of the professional knowledge base itself creates a dilemma.

Added to this is the fact that new aspects of human behavior are continuously emerging. This provides a challenge to Social Work Education to keep up to date with the new knowledge on human behavior and at the same time not to overwhelm the students.

Over the years we have struggled with what are the objectives of a basic human behavior course and with the content of the course. If we look into the final product, a "practicing professional," we have extensive ground to cover. When the range of human beings served is broad, and the span of human services are dispersed, we have a serious obligation to broaden the knowledge base. We have to combine depth and breadth. Fortunately, we must recognize that master's studies programs are two year knowledge programs. Knowledge and affective learning should be based on the utilization of these years and not on any specific course.

The profession of social work has been very responsive in recent years to societal changes. Each change has brought with it unique social problems which, in turn, brought a need for new theories about human behavior. The knowledge in other disciplines has mushroomed and needs to be known and applied to social work. The social work professionals in the field became very involved in the new social issues and their new experiences brought about the need for new insights and issues in social work education to prepare the students to meet the society's special problems. Most of this development took place in the 1960's. The Council on Social Work Education responded and provided leadership. Interdisciplinary approaches were encouraged with psychology, social science, sociology, anthropology, economics, etc. As social workers were exposed to knowledge from other disciplines it also became evident that a broader perspective about human behavior was necessary. Simply looking at individuals to help them overcome their personal problems and social problems was not adequate enough to meet the total situations that social workers were facing in the field. Problems like unemployment, poverty, institutional-racism, etc. were being examined as causes in themselves. The social environment influences human behavior, therefore institutions and society became the focus of study. No longer was the traditional psychoanalytical approach adequate. It was of value but not enclusive enough since it does not adequately acknowledge social systems and the impact they have on individuals. Social workers and social scientists began to question the traditional social work approach of treating individuals (Kolm 1976). Some thought such an approach detracted from the "real" issues of the day. These professionals felt that the broader approach to the perception of society was needed. This recognition was expressed by few schools which clearly identified themselves as more community oriented; for example, the University of Maryland School of Social Work changed its name to include community and planning.

Educators admit that there are dilemmas in our educational system, since basically we are practitioners. We have learned theory in order to apply it to practice. Kolm addresses this very issue elsewhere in this report. As new theories have developed in social sciences, social work has included them in their curriculum. Some have given us great insights while others have taken us "far a field." In the process of being open to multiple theories and applying them to practice the profession has become more sensitive to psychosocial content.

Ethnic content

According to Giordano[15], social psychiatry, through individuals such as Sullivan, Horney, Ferenczi, and Kardiner, has accented the influence of social and cultural environment on normal and deviant behavior. In recent years we see a stronger awareness of the relationship between social pscyhiatry and community mental health. We are coming to accept the fact that ethnicity is interpreted as more than uniqueness defined by geography, national origin, race or religion. It is seen as more permeating, thus affecting conscious and unconscious processes that go "under the skin" meeting our deep psychological need for identity, security and a sense of historical continuity. This was not emphasized by Freud or his immediate followers, but many theorists since his time have widened the horizon. Therefore, today we breathe more freely and comfortably with wider dimensions. Today we accept ethnicity as part of the answer to everyone's identity question "who am I" (Erikson, Jung, etc.). We no longer limit ourselves to answering "who am I" by simply looking at intra-psychic phenomenon lest we become like the Shakespeare's witches in Macbeth forever doomed to stand before one cauldron repeating "toil and trouble . . ."

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[15] Joseph Giordano, Grace Penero Giordano, Ethnicity and Community Mental Health, Prepublished Manuscript, 1976, 2-5.

We know now that one's personality is being continuously directed and effected by internal and external forces. The day of single cause and effect has long passed, and we are more universal minded and multi dimensional in perceiving these causes and their effects. This has been enhanced and reinforced by the sensitive autobiographical accounts of many individuals. Luigi Bargini's book Italians is very insightful about his Italian heritage. Claude Brown in Manchild in the Promised Land (1966) sensitively describes day to day growing up in Harlem; Attovia Paz in Labyrinths of Solitude (1962) gives a personal insight into the experience of being a Mexican-American; Maya Angelou (1974) writes of being a black woman; Michael Novak (1971), a third generation Slovak, tells of his personal struggles in being Americanized; John Nerhardt tells his story as a Native American in Black Elk Speaks; the book Jewish Grandmothers makes us look with depth at the lives of seven women who migrated to America; and T.C. McLuhan in Touch the Earth gives the reader a very sensitive look at the writings of Native American leaders. Many more writers invite us into worlds previously closed to most of us.

Today, ignorance of ethnic influences in our lives is no excuse, if it ever was, because of the explosion of so many individuals bursting to tell of their unique, beautiful, painful and human tales of how it was growing up in America while feeling different or being made aware of one's specialness from the rest of the folks. In the past, and perhaps even today more than one cares to admit, being different meant not really being American. In the 1960's America seemed to burst forth with a new group awareness. Individuals were seen as part of ethnic groups. A group identity was expressed. Some say it's new but actually for many it was private identity that went public and with fury never to be private again. It penetrated the concept of homogeniety of American culture concept and the melting pot myth theory. It started first with the civil rights movement of Blacks, then the Mexican-American, Puerto Ricans, Asian Americans, Native American joined. Now the list of groups asserting their ethnic identity in all its glory include Italians, Greeks, Jews, Poles, Irish and countless other groups. All are expressing that their individual and group concerns be uniquely faced and not lost in the shuffle by the dominant group. Authors like Greely (1975), Baroni (1972), Giordano (1973), Levine and Herman (1972), Koim (1971), Novak (1971), paved the way for a public need to address the "new pluralism" in America and have forced us to take away our blinders. The new concept of diversity is 'in' at all levels of depth.

How did all this affect social work education? Well, we began to see the need to be more sensitive to individual and group uniqueness and to reevaluate a theoretical framework that looks at human behavior with limited dimensions (Kolm 1977). Coupled with this were the outside social and political forces coming from society urging that "human services be delivered by public institutions according to people's needs and styles, not by the dictates of impersonal bureaucratic methods," thereby demanding that our institutions move toward the acceptance of differences that the new pluralism implies.[15] As social workers we have always had to deal with diversity. This has always been true of our clientele and it was recognized in the early writings of our founding women like Mary Richmond, Jane Addams, Josephine Show-Lowell, Ziltha Smith, and Florence Keely. Nevertheless, with the passing of time and the strong influence of psychoanalytic theory we moved away from the "social: and more into "individual therapies (Kolm, 1976). We became increasingly aware "that our mental services were not connecting with the real needs of ethnic groups or minority groups". The demands of groups were not seen as group demands nor those of individuals within a group, but only as those of individuals--individuals almost suspended in time and space--momentarily uprooted. As groups began to voice their collective needs, significant changes were needed. This included the development of awareness to the limitations of the present theories of human behavior. We had to look at how far we had strayed from our "social" concept of human behavior. We began to look at our curriculum and saw that it had not been including sufficiently social and cultural content. We needed a shift toward the development of an atmosphere where the focus of social learning would be on valuing a variety of culture life styles.

The curriculum needed to deal with (1) awareness of one's own ethnic and cultural identity, (2) understanding of other cultures and ethnic identities, and (3) awareness of the nature of racism and sexism as these affect individual and group behavior. These statements have implications for both cognitive and affective development of the students. Changes were seen to be needed in content, strategies, resources and also in the teachers who create the conditions for curriculum and instruction. It has been said that "having a diversity of cultures within a single country can be a threat, a problem or an asset." We recognized it as an asset and so began a pilot project to specifically introduce ethnic content into one section of Human Behavior and the Social Environment course.

The pilot project

This project was concerned with the required Human Behavior and Social Environment I and II courses, and not the sequence of courses over a two year period within the Person in Society Sequence. Within the sequence, additional courses are offered in psychopathology, ego psychology, black studies, social science concepts, social change, group process, systems theory, ethnicity, etc.

The Human Behavior and Social Environment course at N.C.S.S.S. is based on the life cycle, i.e., birth through death. Each phase of life is looked at from a normative approach. Various theories are examined as they apply to each phase of growth and development. It is a difficult course to teach because of the struggles inherent in bringing together various theories in a meaningful way without overwhelming the students. It is inadequate to teach a single theory such as psychoanalytic, cognitive, behavior, systems, etc., because human behavior is more complex than any one theory can encompass.

And yet, without a consistent theoretical framework it is impossible to achieve a meaningful understanding of the total person. The course is anchored around the major stages of the life cycle, i.e., birth, infancy, toddler, oedipal, school age, adolescence, young adult, middle years, old age, dying and death. Normative growth and development is studied along with normative crises present at different phases of growth and development. This provides a sophisticated awareness of the person in today's society. The Human Behavior and Social Environment courses is a first year required course for all students regardless of what speciality they will be choosing in the second year. This means that in the class there is a mixture of students, some interested in the clinical field, others in planning and community service, others in group or family therapies and others in research. The course has to be structured in order to meet the basic needs of all students, regardless of their later specialties.

Objectives of the pilot course

The main objectives of the pilot course were:

1. To assist the students in developing a meaningful awareness of the role that ethnicity plays throughout life, i.e., birth to death.
2. To enhance the student's self-awareness of her/his own ethnic heritage.
3. To increase the students academic knowledge of the field of ethnicity.
4. To do a literature search for available materials in the area of ethnicity that can be meaningfully applied to the Human Behavior and the Social Behavior courses as taught at NCSSS, and
5. To explore what audio visual materials are available in the field of ethnicity.

Methodology

To help the student become deeply aware of (1) the incredibly rich and various inheritance America has garnered from its diverse ethnic groups and (2) the influences that inheritance has had on an individual at various phases of her/his life cycle, the following methodology was used in teaching a pilot section of Human Behavior and the Social Environment.

The class was a mix of twenty-three students of varying ethnic backgrounds, age, life and work experiences. There was no specific student selection procedure used in this pilot section. The courses were introductory required courses in Human Behavior and the Social Environment I and II. It met twice a week two hours per meeting.

The students were told they were going to be part of a pilot study to consciously integrate ethnic content into the Human Behavior and Social Environment course throughout the first semester. They were informed that in the pilot section they would be required to do more intense work outside of the class. It was explained that they would be asked to select one area of knowledge for concentration throughout the life cycle. The knowledge areas were: systems theory, symbolic interaction theory, cognitive theory, defense mechanism and ethnicity. They were asked to choose which area of concentration they preferred. They had the option of joining one of the other six sections if they did not wish to be part of the pilot study. No one took the option to leave. At the end there were 4 or 5 students in each of the 5 groups.

The format of the class was the following. Each week students would be looking at a phase of the life cycle beginning with society, followed by the family, pre-natal, infancy, toddler, oedipal, juvenile, adolescence, youth, young adult, middle years, old age, dying and death. Each week, at the first meeting of the class, the instructor would lecture on a given phase of the life cycle discussing the theories and research on the bio-psycho-social aspects of that particular phase of growth and development and the class would interact with discussion and involvement with the subject. At the second meeting of the class, within the same week, five students, each representing their special interest groups (systems, symbolic interaction, cognitive, ethnicity, or defense mechanism), presented their findings on that particular phase of growth and development being discussed that week. For example: on Monday the instructor lectured on the bio-psycho-social development of infancy. On Friday the students had to present their materials. The student's material represented a special knowledge area as it relates to infancy. As a result, the class heard from five different student groups addressing infancy from five different perspectives which the instructor integrated in the materials she had presented. Each student, as the semester moved on, was becoming a beginning specialist in her/his particular knowledge area. At the same time, the class was re-examining infancy in areas that had not been completely covered by the instructor, or in which the content was important enough to be heard again, but this time from a student. Specifically, the class heard at the second meeting of the week (1) how a systems theorist would perceive infancy, (2) how a symbolic interactionist would explain the infant's relationship to the mother (caretaker) and society, (3) what cognitive development was taking place in infancy, (4) what specific defense mechanism might be developing at that phase of life, and (5) what ethnic influences were taking place to shape the infant's behavior and personality. This format was followed for the complete semester. This meant that each student presented three times on three different phases of the life cycle from his special perspective. They were required after each presentation to submit their findings in writing to the

Instructor.

Simultaneous with lectures and student presentation, a film series The Family of Man was offered to the students. These films were showing human development in different cultures.

Student learning

According to the students own account the learning that took place and the interaction were most dynamic. Each student defended her/his position and in the process a deep respect for knowledge was developed. After reading and discussing Kalish's examples of ethnic difference students approached ethnic influence with new respect.

> An American mother in snug-fitting pedal pushers, her hair in curlers, is walking rapidly through a chrome supermarket. Behind her, trotting to catch up and trying to clutch some symbol of her physical presence, is her two-and-a-half-year-old son. The mother speaks: Fa Chrissakes, Robert, what kinda kid are ya, always hanging on to yuh mother's apron strings?"
>
> A Japanese mother in a loose, plain housedress is walking slowly past the stalls of a crowded Tokyo shopping arcade. On her back, slung from a padded obi, her two-and-a-half-year-old son wriggles for freedom. The mother turns her head: "Abunai, abunai, danger careful! Please remain quiet until we return home."
>
> An American politician is orating: ". . . and every American deserves the right to individualism, freedom, and happiness." His audience cheers.
>
> A Japanese politician is orating: ". . . and every son should remember his responsibility to his emperor and country, and his filial obedience." His audience cheers.
>
> A middle-aged American woman says to her husband: "I don't see why your mother can't take care of herself. After all, she's got social security, and you and your brothers could chip in a little each month and get her a room someplace."
>
> A middle-aged Japanese woman says to her husband . . .The truth is she probably would not say anything, because in spite of any reluctance on her part to care for her in-laws she has internalized the value of submissiveness. In addition, she recognizes her vested interest in keeping the status quo to assure her own old age security in a society where family obligations to the elderly are changing as rapidly as in ours - perhaps more rapidly.

> An elderly American woman sits in her hospital bed and talks to her roommate. "Well, now, I've always believed that old folks shouldn't be a burden to young people, because young people need to have their happiness and independence. I don't know what I'll do when I get out of here- maybe I'll try to get into a nursing home. I want my independence, too."
>
> An elderly Japanese woman says to her hospital roommate, "When I leave here, I will live with my eldest son and his wife. My daughter-in-law is not happy about this, but her happiness is not so important just now."[17]

For example, the students who presented the theory, symbolic interaction, began to use the examples mentioned by the students who presented ethnicity to illustrate the relationship between an individual's outlook on life and his family's ethnic influence. Students began to appreciate complexities of human behavior. An example of this was presented by Napierkowski recalling:

> . . . our eldest son reached school age. For the first time my wife and I began to discover the pain of being ethnic parents. On the strength of his last name alone our son was frequently singled out by his classmates, with the occasional cruelty which arises in children, for ridicule. His confused state of intimidation on such occasions hurt beyond measure. It was one thing for us to experience the condescending attitudes of others but quite another to see our son ridiculed. Beyond carefully worded notes to teachers or parents, which generally met with feigned shock or simple indifference, we had no idea how to combat such situations or assure our son. Although I had read and taught his words over a half dozen times, only now did the impassioned plaint of James Baldwin strike home: "It was the Lord who knew of the impossibility every parent in that room faced: how to prepare the child for the day when the child would be despised and how to create in the child - by what means? - a stronger antidote to this poison than one had found for oneself?
>
> My despair was such that if I was ever tempted to surrender my identity, it was then.[18]

The students presenting systems theory began to talk about "input" and "output" in terms of ethnic content. Powlowska in sharing her childhood experiences comments:

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[17] Richard A. Kalish, Ph.D., "Of Children and Grandfathers: A Speculative Essay on Dependency," R.D. Kalish, Editor, The Dependencies of Old Age, (The University of Michigan-Wayne State University, Institute of Gerontology, 1969), 73-74.

[18] Thomas Napierkowski, "Stepchild of America," Growing up Slavic in America, Edited by Michal Novak, Bayville, (New York: An EMPAC Publication 1976), 18.

> One day while I was walking home from school with my friend, Esther Richards, she confided that she planned to be a teacher when she grew up. "I'd like to be," I said, "but I can't." "Why not?" she asked. "Because I have a funny name," I replied.
>
> Somehow Pawlowska seemed completely out of line with Cottrell, Cozy, Birkamp, Christman, Van Dyke, Reekie, McGreevey. At age ten, that was an impossible hurdle to leap, especially when Esther said, "You're right." We were both very sad.
>
> I wore my martyr's mantle to the dinner table that evening. Waiting for the appropriate moment, I repeated my sad story to my parents, fully expecting everyone to break into tears, even my little brother who at six could demonstrate sympathy with eyes always filled with wonder.
>
> My father's hazel eyes turned into cold steel. He stopped eating, his knife and fork poised against the edge of the table. "Don't ever let me hear you, or any of you," (he locked at each of us sternly) "say that again. If you don't become a teacher, it won't be because of your name. It'll be because there is something lacking here!" and he pointed to his chest.
>
> A couple of years later, I brought a tale of personal triumph to the dinner table. I had asked Miss Clawson to change my mark in history from 2 to 1. In those days 1's were like today's A's. "You gave Pauline 1 and I think my work is as good as hers," i argued.
>
> Well, that didn't impress my father. "If you thought you deserved the top grade, you should have proved the merit of your work. Never try to reach the heights by climbing on another's back. Pauline had nothing to do with it!"
>
> Thus it was, step by step, he taught the parental curriculum assigned to him by natural responsibility. It had nothing to do with our being foreigners, but he wanted to help with the problems we had to face in life.[19]

The students speaking on the defense mechanism began to think about healthy defenses individuals and groups have to develop to survive in a society where one's ethnic heritage is not appreciated. Napierkowski's search for identity tells the following:

> I, like all non-WASP children, was aware of a discrepancy between my life and the usual image of American life presented in the

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[19] Harriet Pawlowski, "The Education of Harriet Pawlowski," Novak ed.

> media, textbooks, and political speeches, the impact of this realization was greatly reduced for me. All the most important institutions in my life-family, school, and the church - reinforced my identity and minimized the conflicts.
>
> All of this changed, however, when I left South Chicago. It was then that the massive assault on my identity began.
>
> Fortunately my initiation was rather gentle. It took place in high school at Quigley, the day school, prep seminary of the Archdiocese of Chicago. It was there that I first encountered people, students, faculty, who saw in my Polish identity reason to hold me in contempt. Needless to say, this was a difficult thing to handle. These attacks, however, were not too frequent; and my adolescent mind soon came up with angry retorts which assuaged my damaged pride. Slightly more nebulous, and hence less easy to understand, was my sudden immersion in an Anglo-Irish brand of Catholicism which brooked no compromise.[20]

As the weeks progressed students began to look forward to hearing from one another and to appreciate the special knowledge base that was developing as we moved along each phase of the life cycle. Prosen's experience as a girl made students aware of the ethnic influence in molding one's self perceptions.

> In the 9th grade a boy said to me, "You talk funny." I wondered what he meant. I listened to my friends, and I did not think they "talked funny." Then that great American experiment, the public high school, opened my ears. I heard the English language spoken as I had never heard before. I began to hear that I did indeed pronounce my words differently, and so did my friends. I wrote a letter to a movie magazine. For 25 cents I could study the correct pronunciation of English words. . . I practiced in secret, in the bathroom, of course, until I could pronounce properly the difficult "th" sound . . . How superior I felt when I had mastered this sound![21]

She continues with an insight on old age in this new land.

> After food and flowers, I remember most of all music. How proud I and my family were when I wore the blue satin blouse and red plaid skirt my mother made me for my first recital. In the basement of the church, the neighborhood gathered to see what their children had been up to all that school year. Afterwards, the adults reviewed their children's performance in Slovenian . . . the old folks looked on and wept. What they must have seen, I suspect, is the beginning of the end of their way of life; a discomfomfort more acute than age and ailing naturally bring; a discomfort that signified social change, for with money and

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[20] Napierkowski, 14-15.

[21] Rosemary Prosen, "Looking Back" Novak ed. Growing up Slavic, 2-3.

education came social mobility.[22]

In the area of research on ethnicity in relation to human behavior, students explored a wide variety of journals. When someone came upon articles dealing with ethnicity he/she would bring into the class references for use by fellow students. There was also a reinforcement of the findings and an appreciation of the enormous task involved in exploring human behavior and how multi-faceted human behavior really is. At the same time students learned to identify the areas where research on human behavior as related to ethnicity is much needed. There appears to be a need for illustrations similar to the one narrated by Pawlowski:

> . . . when I was teaching in the high school where a large percentage of the student body was of Polish descent, I considered myself a natural candidate for promotion to counsellorship. It was this principal who was able to make snide remarks about the Polish community in my hearing and who threw the promotion application at me from across his broad desk with the remark, "It's not what you know; it's who you know that counts!" All this left me with the rules of the game and that somewhere I had missed an important ingredient for success in the modern world.[23]

It became apparent that we don't have sufficient material for supporting knowledge throughout the life cycle. Much research and theory has been invested in the earlier phases of growth and development but much is needed to learn about later years. Student's also perceived a great need for specific illustrations of how different ethnic groups raise their children. There are good novels but more sciemtifically oriented works are needed as well. A book like Hard Times by Dickens graphically describes the effects of the industrial revolution on the family. We also need to know more about the history of individual ethnic groups such as Polish, Greek, Slavic, Mexican Americans, etc. We need to search for more poetry that touches the question of ethnicity. Poems like Burroughs:

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[22] Ibid, 5.

[23] Pawlowski, 26.

> What shall I tell my children who are black
> Of what it means to be a captive in this dark skin?
> What shall I tell my dear ones, fruit of my womb,
> Of how beautiful they are when everywhere they turn
> They are faced with abhorrence of everything that is black.
> The night is black and so is the bogeyman. Villains are
> black with black hearts. A black cow gives no milk.
> A black hen lays no eggs. Bad news come bordered in
> black, mourning clothes black, Storm clouds, black,
> black is evil And evil is black and devils food is
> black.[24]

The students learned in proportion to their exposure. There is rich material but it needs to be collected and disseminated because students are open and eager to be exposed to the whole question of ethnic content and how it has influenced our human behaviors.

Conclusion

In 1969 the Council on Social Work Education specified in its manual of accrediting standards that:

> A school (of social work) must conduct its program without discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed or ethnic origin. This principle applies to the situations of students, classroom and field instructors, other staff, and all aspects of the organization and program of the school.

Since then, several schools of social work have responded by including into their curriculum some courses on ethnicity. The pilot project reported in this paper was an attempt to integrate ethnic content into the existing required Human Behavior and Social Environment courses. It was a successful attempt to produce multicultural education highlighting awareness about the functioning of minority and ethnic groups through the life cycle. As the accrediting manual points out (1969), "The underlying impetus behind multicultural education is the emphases of cultural pluralism and of working toward a society where all people can live harmoniously in an atmosphere of mutual respect."

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[24] Margaret Burroughs, "What Shall I Tell My Children Who are Black," reprinted in Helen A. Archibald, ed., Negro History and Culture: Selections For Use With Children, (Chicago: Community Renewal Society, undated), 4.

The Life Cycle approach to teaching multi ethnic influences on human behavior served many purposes. It did not place emphasis on one age group at the expense of weakening another group. Individuals and ethnic groups were addressed at one point or another. The course emphasized the role ethnicity plays throughout the full life cycle. It also provided the student with an opportunity to examine ethnic influences by using various theories of human behavior.

The objectives of the pilot project (1) to assist the students in developing meaningful awareness of the role that ethnicity plays through out life, i.e., birth to death and, (2) to enhance the student's self-awareness of her/his own ethnic heritage, were more easily attained than other objectives. Students were eager to take hold of the concepts of ethnicity as their resistance seemed to be at a minimum. The other objectives, (3) to increase the students academic knowledge of the field of ethnicity, (4) to do a literature search for what materials are available in the area of ethnicity that can be meaningfully applied to the Human Behavior and the Social Environment courses as taught at the National Catholic School of Social Service, and (5) to explore what audiovisual materials are available in the field of ethnicity,--seemed to be somewhat hampered by the constraints of time, size and ambition of the project.

Over the years, ethnic content has been scattered here and there in other disciplines as well as in social work and the teachers need enormous amounts of time to pull it all together in a meaningful way for students who are being educated to be practitioners, since the application of this knowledge is the heart of the social work profession. How to translate conceptual knowledge to produce practitioners was addressed in the methods sequence.

During this pilot project students expressed a solid perception of ethnic incidents in their own lives. For example, one student who formerly denied her own heritage offered illustrations of her family life which clearly indicated her strong ethnic ties. Students talked about certain foods, odors, dances, etc. which had great influence on their lives. Some students realized, perhaps for the first time, they had not appreciated their past. They even sensed they may have offended their immigrant parents. Those students without such ethnic experiences "sensed a loss."

The literature search for ethnic content involved the students in understanding other child rearing practices, however different or, at times, odd it may have seemed to them prior to their knowledge of ethnicity as an important factor in human growth and development.

To sum it up, this pilot project was, at the same time, a complicated, tedious and yet rewarding process which has only begun. In light of the early success it seems possible to find this and other methods to insure and to explore student learning in the crucial area of integrating ethnicity into the human behavior courses of the social work curriculum.

Stages of Life Cycle

References on Ethnicity Throughout the Life Cycle

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CHAPTER 3

ETHNICITY IN THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

BY
Danuta Mostwin, D.S.W.

ETHNICITY IN THE TEACHING OF THE SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

Danuta Mostwin, D.S.W.

Introduction

The teaching module following this introduction is intended to provide a structure and a content to the teaching of ethnicity in the curriculum of the social work methods of practice. Special emphasis will be placed on teaching about those ethnic groups which derive their origin from Eastern, Central, and Southern Europe.

The present discussion will begin with a brief description of ethnicity, and an inquiry into the cultural and philosophical influences which shaped the characteristics of ethnic groups.

A backward glance at the importance of the "socio-cultural elements" in social work literature, as related to the methods of practice, will be provided. And finally, the content for the teaching unit will be outlined. This will include the four following related aspects:

I. Theoretical considerations.

II. Sensitivity training

III. Implementation of ethnic components into three phases of the psycho-social process.

Ethnicity

During the last two decades a new force has emerged on the American social scene. The minority groups, silent and seemingly melted away in a process of acculturation, became increasingly active in proclaiming their cultural differences. This, to a social scientist, may signify a new phase in the evolutionary process of social system differentiation, but for a student of man's psycho-social development and for a humanist, this momentum of awakening of group solidarity and of inner cultural consciousness stands out as a hopeful sign of human maturation through the sharpening of self-awareness. This awareness of historical continuity, solidarity with cultural group and a search for meaning in cultural heritage is a manifestation of the search of our times for collective and individual identity.[1]

Expressed in customs and traditions, attitudes and life philosophy, internalized through the process of early socialization through the acquisition of parental norms and values, reinforced by familial loyalty and group solidarity, this phenomenon is referred to as ethnicity.[2]

Ethnicity is concisely defined by Kolm as being "identified with cultural uniqueness historically derived"[3], meaning that it has existed over several generations.

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[1] Orrin E. Klapp, Collective Search for Identity, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., N.Y., 1969.

Erik H. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crisis, W. W. Norton and Co., Inc., New York, 1968.

________, Dimensions of a New Identity, Jefferson Lectures, Norton and Co., 1974.

Danuta Mostwin, "In Search of Ethnic Identity," In Social Casework, 5 May 1973, 5.

[2] Ethnicity may be defined as ". . . A sense of commonality or community derived from network of family relations which have over a number of generations been the carriers of common experiences. Ethnicity, in short, means the culture of people and is thus critical for values, attitudes, perceptions, needs, modes of expressions, behavior and identity." In Feinstein, O., "Why Ethnicity." In Immigrants and Migrants: The Detroit Experience, D.W. Hartmen (ed.), Wayne State University, 1974.

[3] Richard Kolm, "Ethnicity and the Ethnic Family in Social Work" Paper read at a conference, The American Family, Catholic University, Washington, D.C., April 4-5, 1977.

This self-awareness of cultural continuity, the need to proclaim one's own cultural difference, the interest in one's own heritage or the rejection and denial of this heritage, which might be accompanied with feelings of anxiety and guilt[4]--are not limited to the first generation of immigrants. In teaching and learning ethnicity, we need to be mindful of about 100 million Americans, first and second generation immigrants,[5] and also of all those who while feeling American, did not reject their cultural heritage. The general term "Ethnic Americans" includes also the people who derive their cultural heritage from Europe and who, I think, should rather be called Euro-Americans. The Inter-group cultural differences among Euro-Americans are quite pronounced. Let us take as an example the nationalities of Eastern and Central Europe. "The territory is also known as a cradle of Slavic nations, the Eastern Slavs (Russians, Ukrainians, and Byelorussians), the Western Slavs (Czechs, Slovaks, and Poles), and Southern Slavs (Serbs, Croatians, Slovanians, and Bulgarians). Lithuanians, Estonians, Finns, and Latvians belong to the family of Baltic nations; Hungarians situated in the central position, while not Slavs by their origin, are related to them through history . . . Living in the corridor between the Eastern philosophy of Asia, which emphasizes the importance of the group, tribe, nation, and family over individual rights, and the Western philosophy of individual freedom, they strove for personal freedom but never evaded the radiating authority of the East which demands the sacrifice of an individual for the good of the group, and which minimizes the importance of an individual existence.[6]

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[4] Danuta Mostwin, "Uprootment and Anxiety," International Journal of Mental Health, Summer, 1976.

[5] Irving M. Levine, "Ethnicity and Mental Health: A Social Conservation Approach," Paper presented at the White House Conference on Ethnicity and Mental Health, June 14, 1976.

A careful look at the ethnic groups in America, Asian-Americans, Black-Amerians, Hispanic-Americans, Jewish-Americans, and "Ethnic-Americans" (Euro-Americans), compels us to reconsider the previously expressed truism that "by and large, the culture or sub-cultures with which social workers deal are all part of general Western cultural tradition."[7]

A large group of American-Chinese and American-Japanese were a part of this country for generations. The last immigration from the East, of Philipinos, Koreans, Vietnamese and Cambodians, and their entrance into the social work profession, enriched the understanding of the Eastern philosophy, and improved the delivery of services to the members of these ethnic groups.

What is perhaps not recognized as yet, or not adequately dealt with, is the friction of Eastern and Western philosophies experienced for centuries by the Eastern and Central Europeans.

Socio-Cultural Elements in the Social Work Literature As Related to the Methods of Practice (A Backward Glance)

Ethnicity, narrowed to "cultural" or later "socio-cultural" elements, was an important factor in social work practice from its very beginning. It was, however, applied only to work with immigrants.

> The social settlements in America have done a great service to their country by interpreting immigrant life in its cities to a preoccupied public. From the appearance of Hull House Maps and

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[6] Danuta Mostwin, "Differential Values and Attitudes Among the Families of Eastern and Central European Background--Implications for Mental Health and Social Services (A Pilot Study)" Paper presented at the Conference on Ethnicity and Social Welfare, Baltimore, Maryland sponsored by the School of Social Work and Community Planning of the University of Maryland, and the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, January 16, 1976.

[7] Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework, A Casebook of Seven Case Ethnic Studies, Prepared by the New York Project, Council on Social Work Education, 1955, p. 6.

> Papers (New York, T. Y. Crosell and Co., 1895), in 1895 to present time (1917) they have labored unceasingly and with rare discernment in this particular field.[8]

Thus wrote Mary Richmond in Social Diagnosis. In her chapter on the immigrant family, she warns a social worker:

> In dealing with foreign clients, the case worker finds himself in danger of falling into one of two errors: he may think of them as members of a colony or of a nationality having such and such fixed characteristics, or he may ignore national and racial characteristics and try to apply to them the same standards of measure that he would apply to his fellow countrymen. Before long, he will have learned that he cannot ignore national characteristics altogether.[9]

The need to maintain a subtle balance between the group characteristics as an influence on personal behavior, and the uniqueness of an individual, in the analysis of the client's situation, was well understood by the pioneer of the social casework method. But the depth and the persistence of the socio-cultural patterns was not realized at that time. The immigrant had to be helped only to live through a difficult acculturation process to become an American.

The Second World War, and the post-war great migrations, provided a new incentive for study, research, and treatment for a social scientist, cultural anthropologist,[10] and for a psychosocial practitioner. There was a growing need to provide adequate assistance to persons transplanted from their native land who had often witnessed the atrocities of war. To do this a new knowledge was required leading toward the understanding of personal behavior as shaped by socio-cultural heritage.

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[8] Mary Richmond, Social Diagnosis, Russell Sage Foundation, 1917, (The Free Press, paperback edition, 1965), 6.

[9] Ibid., 134.

[10] For example, Margaret Mead and R. Metraux, The Study of Culture at a Distance, (The University of Chicago Press, 1949).

In 1950, a group of individuals from social work and the social sciences met informally in the New York School of Social Work (later the Columbia University School of Social Work) to explore the possibility of developing socio-cultural material.[11] The group, financed by the Russell Sage Foundation, became known as the New York Cultural Project. It began a two year study to develop a socio-cultural content in the social work curriculum. This resulted in the publication of a casebook entitled, "Socio-Cultural Elements in Case-Work." The book discusses seven ethnic case studies which are limited to four ethnic groups: Italian-Americans, Puerto-Rican Newcomers, Czech Immigrants, and the Orthocox Jewish Regufees. The studies are carefully analyzed, and the focus is primarily on the problem of adjustment. The socio-cultural elements are only emphasized insofar as they obstruct or prevent the obvious, visible behavior. The goal of therapy seems to be the smooth functioning in the American environment. The inner cultural struggle of a new identity formation, the possible conflict of loyalties not only to the persons but to the country of origin, and the country of settlement, are not dealt with in depth. No attempt is made to predict to what kind of changes a person's self will be subjected in the process of adjustment, and how these changes could affect his mental health. The New York Cultural Project and its publication should be considered an important contribution to the theory of social work method of practice. But it was not as yet a project or study in ethnicity although it dealt with some of its major components.

Since the 1955 publication of "Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework," the term "ethnicity" has appeared on social work literature. Even the brief review of the basic social work text books points to the growing importance of ethnicity. For example, Herman D. Stein in his article[12] of 1955 includes ethnicity as one of "group membership determinants" and as an aid in diagnosis and treatment. But he warns that:

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[11] Socio-Cultural Elements in Casework, A casebook of Seven Case Ethnic Studies. Prepared by New York Project, Council on Social Work Education, 1955.

> It is important . . . not to have such a course "in social science concepts" focused entirely on cultural differences of ethnic groups. It is true that social workers have particular interest in this area and want to learn more about the cultural differences of Italians, Jews, the Irish, Puerto-Ricans, Negroes, and so forth. Although this is an important content area and one in which social workers are responsive because of social work's emphasis on accepting differences, the course should not be limited to this one theme. In this connection, note should be made of the dangers of developing stereotype, particularly in the discussion of ethnic materials.[13]

Five years later, in 1960, Herman Stein devotes several paragraphs to the "existence of ethnic influences in personality and behavior."[14] He writes that:

> Ethnic influences run deep. We see them most clearly in first generation families of migrants and immigrants groups, less clearly in second and third generations; and much research is needed to understand the extent to which ethnic influences persist through the generations. Issues of self-identification and self-acceptance in ethnic cultural terms become increasingly important to our understanding of the individual personality and of the relationship between minority groups, and their relationship, in turn, to the larger cultural system . . . We need far more understanding than we now have, too, as to the factors involved when both worker and client or worker and group have the same ethnic identifications. Our literature has only scratched the surface of understanding in these areas.[15]

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[12] Herman D. Stein, "Social Science in Social Work Practice and Education," In Social Casework 36 (4) (1955): Reprinted in Ego Psychology and Dynamic Casework, Ed. by Howard J. Parad, FSA, 1958.

[13] Ibid., 239.

[14] Herman D. Stein, "The Concept of the Social Environment in Social Work Practice," Smith College Studies in Social Work 30 (3) (1960): Reprinted in Ego-Oriented Casework, Problems and Perspectives, Edited by Howard J. Parad, Roger Miller, FSA, 1963.

[15] Ibid., 74-75.

It is encouraging to note the expressed need for "more understanding" of ethnicity in social work education. It seems only natural that the social workers want to learn more about the cultural differences; they are, by and large, the members of the ethnic groups, or second, third or fourth generation, of Immigrants. Some of them, no doubt, came to social work professions to help their respective groups. Others, either consciously or unconsciously, retained interest, loyalty and solidarity to their grandparents' or parents' cultural heritage.[16]

With the ever-growing sophistication of the profession, "the danger of developing stereotypes" becomes a lesser problem. It is safer and sound to have an open discussion and vivid exchange of views and feelings regarding ethnic characteristics. It is possible, with the current level of social work education, to relate and compare social and psychological components in the process of individual personality formation.

The "ethnic factor" is also included in the writings of Florence Hollis[17] in a group of other factors such as religion, social class, race. The social worker is urged to be aware of this factor as an ingredient of personal uniqueness, and as an important component in understanding human behavior.

But the fairly recent publication "Theories of Social Case Work"[18] does not include in its index the term "ethnicity". Beginning in 1970 the social work literature has devoted much space to the issue of ethnicity. However, the problems of Euro-Americans were discussed mostly in relation to inter-ethnic conflict, political action, and strategy.[19] The Dilemma of "the hyphenated people, . . . those who bear the badges of Slovak-Americans, Lithuanian-Americans, Hungarian-Americans or Polish-Americans, and others, who lack names which adequately express the process of their unique identity formation (except perhaps in the derogatory generalization of slang),"[20] has not, as yet, been dealt with in depth. Studies of the socio-cultural patterns brought from the country of origin by Italians or Poles will not, by themselves, provide us with the true understanding of ethnicity.

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[16] The first assignment in my teaching of the course "Family Therapy" at the NCSSS is a brief paper, "My Family of Origin." My statement about the background of social work students is based on several years of reading of these papers written by the generations of social work students.

[17] Florence Hollis, Casework, A Psycho-Social Therapy,(New York: Random House, 1964).

[18] Theories of Social Casework, ed. by Robert W. Roberts and R. H. Nee, (The University of Chicago Press, 1970).

> The Polish-American is different from the Pole in Poland, and the Italian-American is not the typical Italian one meets in Rome or Naples. An equal attention to the two variables: heritage and the cultural patterns acquired and to the nuances of their balance in various generations and social classes, as well as sensitivity to the emergence of the third variable (the third value) may result in an interesting discovery and raise the field of ethnicity to a recognized scientific level.[21]

I am ending this introduction to the module of teaching ethnicity in the social work practice curriculum, by quoting some of the answers of my students regarding the ethnic input experienced in my course of family therapy in the Spring of 1977. The answers are revealing of students' interest and their need for information and awareness of cultural differences as they influence the behavior of clients.

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[19] For example, "Ethnicity and Social Work," Special Issue of Social Work 17 (3) (May 1972); or "La Causa Chicana": The Movement for Justice, by Mangold M., FSAA, 1971; or A. Mass, "Asians as Individuals: The Japanese Community," Social Casework 17 (3) (March 1976).

[20] Danuta Mostwin, "The Hyphenated People," Paper presented at the White House Conference on Ethnicity and Mental Health, June 1976.

[21] Ibid.

> I became more aware of the need to consider ethnic background in family or individual treatment . . . by the instructor's constant questions regarding the ethnic background of family when students presented the cases, I became aware of how ethnic background plays a significant part in family dynamics.
>
> . . . A new idea for me was that sometimes one will need an assistant therapist of the same ethnic background as the family.
>
> I had considered the racial aspects of social work before but never the ethnic aspects. This course has given me a total new perspective on looking at a client, his needs, and the method of treatment. I will always take into great consideration the ethnic background as a primary ingredient in the practice of any kind of social work.
>
> I gained a greater consciousness of the deep values and attitudes that come through ethnic identity and influence behavior. I also experienced how much I have ignored (denied?) and overlooked ethnic identity. Even after class discussion, I still failed to get information on ethnic backgrounds of persons I had in treatment. I hope to continue to read about the re-awakening of ethnic consciousness to further solidify my own awareness of the importantce of ethnic background.

Theoretical Consideration

Before discussing the implementation of ethnic components into social work practice we should, at least briefly, consider the current theoretical focus of social work practice, its relations to social science theories of which ethnicity is a part, and prepare a theoretical foundation for the reception of this new social concept in the study, diagnosis and treatment.

The uniqueness of an individual in his unique situation has been the main focus of social work practice, referred to as psycho-social therapy. Although "person-in-situation" is a leading concept in social work practice theory, "the person," its uniqueness, "individualizing process" in which people are differentiated one from the other, received more theoretically supported attention than "the situation."

The emphasis on individual life experience and intrapsychic processes as a guiding device in social work practice is stated explicitly by Florence

Hollis:

> Freud's discoveries concerning the libidinal and aggressive drives and their stages of maturation, the effect of infantile thought processes on the child's perception and understanding of the world, and influence of early relationships within the immediate family, and the profound effect of all of these as they continue, through their persistence in the unconscious, to influence the later thought processes and emotions, remain basic to the understanding of the individual. Casework will drastically impoverish itself if it follows the lead of Horney and Sullivan in trying to explain human behavior primarily in interpersonal terms . . . .[22]

On the other hand, "the situation" remained for a long time a rather loosely defined concept, in spite of its socio-cultural aspects and its significance for social work practice.

In social work literature "a situation" has been referred to as "social environment", which "ceases to be environment in space merely, (which) widens to the horizon of man's thought, to the boundaries of his capacity for maintaining relationships, and . . . (which) narrows to the exclusion of all those things which have no real influence upon his emotional, mental, and spiritual life."[23] While Mary Richmond did not use the term "social situation," her description of "social environment" is one of the clearest and most concise definitions of a situation in social work literature. The term "situation" appears in the writings of Gordon Hamilton when she refers to "The current situation elaborated by specific details" and "the unique reaction of the individual to his situation."[24] It is more precisely defined and implemented in therapeutical use as "center of (person's) interaction or transaction with the external world" by Florence Hollis.[25]

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[22] Florence Hollis, Casework, A Psychosocial Therapy, (New York: Random House, 1964 ; second edition, New York: Random House, 1972), 11.

[23] Mary Richmond, What is Social Casework, (Russell Sage Foundation, 1922), 99.

[24] Gordon Hamilton, Theory and Practice of Social Casework, Second Edition, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

The concept of social environment is a topic theoretical consideration by Herman Stein who conceives of it as "a series of concentric circles of systems of influence, all interacting."[26]

Social situation emerges as social work's central concern in the search for the common base of practice in Bartlett's attempt to analyze and synthesize the common elements of practice. Bartlett defines the situation as a "complex of affairs or circumstances that confronts one social worker, a group of social workers, or the whole profession and must be assessed by them." She provides several leading questions to the assessment of the situation such as "What people are involved here? What problem or condition is central in this situation?"[27]

The concept as a more specific form appeared in the writings of Ben Orcutt as a "Systemic Configuration of Person/Family-in-Environment" focusing on the family constellation in transaction with family environmental systems thus liking individual, family and environment.[28]

This rather recent but progressive integration of social science concepts into the theory of social work practice, concepts from systems theory, the symbolic interaction, and Lewinian Field Theory, introduced much needed theoretical foundation for the concept of the social environment (or social situation), providing it with the elements of structure. This enrichment of the theoretical base of practice by no means eliminates or negates the importance of the contribution of the psychoanalytic theory. But, to quote Kolm, "because of the exclusion of socio-cultural factors in classical psychoanalysis the approach to human nature must be viewed as rather incomplete."[29]

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[25] Hollis, 1972,

[26] Stein, "Concept of Social Environment", 65.

[27] Harriet M. Bartlett, The Common Base of Social Work Practice, (National Association of Social Workers, 1970), 149-150.

[28] Ben A. Orcutt, Poverty and Social Casework Services, (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1974) 28.

The structuring of the situation (this environment so well known to the social workers in their daily practice, but so seldom approached in an organized theoretical way) can not only complete the contribution of the psychoanalytic theory, but can, and I think will, redirect the social work diagnostic process from the primary focus on the uniqueness of an individual to the appraisal of the total life space of this individual (the "bird's eye view" technique to be discussed later), and the circulatory process between the person and his environment.[30]

The technique and the usefulness of the "bird's eye view" approach in the appraisal of person/family situation, based on Kurt Lewin's Field Theory, and the Systems Theory concepts, will be discussed under "the implementation of ethnic components into the three phases of the social work process." Lewin's Field Theory proved to be, in my experience, an especially useful device in promoting the conceptualization of the society, culture and personality as interrelated systems, and thus contributing to the broadening of the view of a person in social work practice. Since this theory was not included in the general introduction, I will outline some of its concepts as they relate to the

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[29] Kolm, "Ethnicity and the Ethnic Family,"

[30] In the above statement I differ from the view of Florence Hollis, my former teacher--that "the distinction between two (psychiatry and social work) is mainly a matter of technical methods." (Hollis, 1966, 12). I have to add, however, that Florence Hollis became, in the late sixties, very interested in the social system contribution to the development of social work practice, and maybe would modify her thinking about the areas of expertise of psychiatry and social work at this time.

the practice of social work.

While the Field Theory in its totality is not usable for social work purposes, it contains rich material of concepts which can be adapted, and/or modified. Lewin, a "practical theorist", was known to implement his theoretical findings in real life. His book on Resolving Social Conflicts, published in 1948, may be considered one of the precursors of the implementation of ethnic components into the understanding of psycho-sociological problems.

"Life situation" which later became "the Life Space" is the main concept in Field Theory. "Life Space" is defined by Lewin as "totality of facts which determines the behavior of an individual at a certain moment, (it) represents the totality of possible events (and) includes the person and the environment. It can be represented by a finitely structured space."[31]

By including in his definition "the totality of possible events," Lewin provided for a dynamic representation of person in his psychological and social environment - the Life Space. Within a person's Life Space one or more situations may exist at a given time. Each of these situations may become a unit of study, treatment and/or research.

Each situation is structured with Facts which can be "phenomenal", that is, can be observed directly, or "psychobiological." For example, the Fact might be the ethnic heritage of the wife in a situation of a marriage counselling. In the analysis of the husband's misunderstanding of the wife's behavior (her exactness which seems rigid to him, her "old fashioned view of sex"), the worker's awareness of (1) the husband's Irish heritage; (2) the wife's Italian heritage, and (3) the traditional Italian attitude toward the sexual behavior of a woman, can be of great help in diagnosis and treatment.

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[31] Kurt Lewin, Principles of Topological Psychology, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Co., 1966), 216-17. Kurt Lewin, Field Theory in Social Sciences, (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1951).

While the above observations seem obvious, the reality is that in every day social work practice the "facts" are often lost because of the traditional primary focus on the intrapsychic behavior of an individual, and a tendency to see people as equal. By beginning the analysis of the situation with its totality, (which will be discussed later), and then through a deductive method, moving into the intrapersonal structure, the facts in the environment begin to acquire a new significance. In the case mentioned above, the diagnosis of the marital problem will not be limited to the neurotic characteristic of the wife, but it will be enlarged and deepened by the understanding of her attitudes, shaped by her cultural heritage. Consequently, the knowledge of the social worker will need to be expanded into the socio-cultural area, and should include knowledge of the ethnic characteristics of the Italian-American, either through personal experience, reading, or the help of an ethnic consultant.

The meaning of the fact of cultural heritage to a person links the social (or environmental) with the psychological (or intrapersonal), thus connecting "person" with "situation," and broadening the understanding of the individual's identity, and, in our case of an Irish-Italian marriage, the understanding of an ethnic identity.

Looking back at the beginning of the psychoanalytic theory, we discover that Freud first used the term "identity" when he tried to formulate his link with the Jewish people. He spoke of "inner identity" which links individuals with the unique values and unique history of their people. Erikson describes identity as a process "located in the core of the individual and yet in the core of his communal culture."[32] Since the diagnosis and treatment of a person is not possible without the understanding of "who he is" or his identity, of which ethnic identity is an integral part, "the communal culture" (and ethnicity expressed through this culture) deserves the attention of the social work practitioner.

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[32] Erik H. Erikson, Identity: Youth and Crises, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1968).

In the above theoretical considerations I have reviewed the relationship of the psychoanalytic and social theories as a theoretical base in current social work practice. This outline, although limited and brief, was intended to prepare a theoretical foundation for the forthcoming discussion of the practical implementation of ethnic components in the teaching of social work practice. It stressed the importance of the concept of environment, and introduced the concept of Life Space as a theoretical tool in diagnosis. I also suggested that the ethnic identity of a person may possibly serve as a link between the person (psychological) and situation (environment, social), and therefore deserves a special consideration by a social work practitioner.

Sensitivity Training

The main tool of the social work profession is self. "The social work method is the responsible, conscious, disciplined use of self in a relationship with an individual or group."[33] The more skillful the use of self, based on self-knowledge, the more successful is the method of treatment.

In analyzing the differences in social work techniques ("modifying versus "supportive"), William Reid came out with a significant finding that the greatest source of variation in social work practice was the individual style of a caseworker, and not the other factors such as the diagnostic classification of the client, or the conception of casework,[34] individual style, meaning self style, or the use of self. While social work education emphasized from its very beginning the importance of self-awareness and self-knowledge, the part of the student's self which deals with his ethnic awareness--acceptance or rejection of his ethnicity was not stressed in spite of the student's interest in this area.

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[33] Bartlett, 223.

[34] William J. Reid, "Characteristics of Casework Intervention" Welfare in Review 5 (8) (October 1967).

Sensitivity training[35] which I am suggesting here as a part of ethnicity teaching in social work practice, will not only enhance the knowledge of ethnic differences among the students in class, but will improve the individual student's self-insight, and prepare him better for practice.

Fifteen minutes to half an hour class time may be devoted to students speaking about their ethnic background. It can begin with the reaction to a question "Who am I?" in an ethnic sense,[36] and "What is the meaning of my cultural heritage for myself, and for my environment?"

The first assignment in my family therapy class is a short paper, "My family of origin." I ask the students to re-think in a reflective and "feeling" way the meaning of their family of origin in the structuring of their personality, their attitudes, their preferences, the customs they cherish, or the characteristics transmitted to them. The papers are revealing not only to me as a teacher, but the process of re-thinking and "putting on paper" something which was a part of their selves but never expressed openly, is revealing to the students and sensitizes them toward the understanding of clients' family problems.

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[35] Training in human relations with the focus on personal and interpersonal interaction acquired the popular name of sensitivity training. It originated in 1946 when the Connecticut State Inter-Racial Commission asked Kurt Lewin "to help in training leaders and conducting research on the most effective means for combating racial and religious prejudice in communities." (Marrow, Alfred J), The Practical Theorist, The Life and Work of Kurt Lewin. (Basic Books, 1969), 210-214.

[36] Mostwin, "Ethnic Identity,"

Ethnicity is usually a part of these papers. It is sometimes expressed as "family's rules and expectations" as in a paper of a Greek student.

> As we know, all families have certain rules and expectations. Above I have noted one of my family's primary expectations (education). Another expectation was that we always remain a part of the Greek community. This entails placing your primary focus in your private life on Greek culture, associating as much as possible with Greeks, fulfilling church obligations, and, of course, marrying Greeks. One important feature of a Greek culture is respect for one's parents--parental respect then being another expectation of my family. While growing up I had a lot of trouble meeting these expectations because while a part of me wanted and loved the Greek culture, another part of me wanted and loved the American way. . . We are all quite affectionate and demonstrative and if we felt good about something another family member did we let them know.

A very sensitive black student was fair in revealing the positive and the less desirable qualities of her family:

> Some of the values which I learned from my natural family and which I have passed on to my children are hard work, independence, desire for education, belief in a Superior Being, tolerance, and sincerity All of these are very positive and admirable qualities and, in all fairness, I feel that I should mention some negative or undesirable values. I was taught not to express anger, disappointment, or displeasure. A child never talked back. Expression of anger with an adult figure was viewed as disobedience and was treated as such.

The most interesting heritage, and the most characteristic of America, is when two different cultural heritages meet in a union of father and mother. The ethnicity of the child is not lost but sharpened in this contrast of cultures. One of my students thus described his Jewish-German-Irish background:

> My paternal grandparents were Russian Orthodox Jewish immigrants who came to this country before World War I, and my father was first generation American born. I remember my grandparents as being strong, independent, hard-working people who had a grain and feed business. My grandfather was a stern disciplinarian who ruled his own home and demanded that his children obey him, in his home, even after they were married . . . I was one of the older grandchildren, and a male, and I seemed to enjoy the special privileges when I visited them . . . My mother had the greatest influence on my life, and my love for her was stronger than for any other member of the family. From her I took my religious beliefs, and I was raised in her church (High German Lutheran). Many of my values came from her. My mother was

> from a German-Irish background, with the German predominant. One of her favorite sayings has always been: "Idle hands are the devil's workshop" . . . From her I received my drive to accomplish things and my tendency to be bossy and intolerant with people and drive them to do things they don't want to do so they accomplish my own ends. . . (but) my family could not understand my desire to attend college in my middle twenties when I came home from the war (the desire which probably was transmitted from his Jewish father).

Another student wrote vividly about her mother's Swedish background:

> Mother was born in Sweden and immigrated to this country during her early childhood . . . She was extremely independent yet very submissive in my father's presence . . . She had amazing strength, and inordinate capacity for being active. She was very industrious and had control over all the monies. . . She placed high values on certain behavior-responsibility for our actions, obedience, conformity, personal neatness . . . she attempted to keep alive Swedish traditions that were important to her. Her friends were Swedish and holidays were celebrated with the foods and customs of Sweden. When my brother and I were pre-adolescents, she enrolled us in Swedish School whereby she hoped we could learn the dances, songs and language of Sweden. Both she and my father were active members in a Swedish club. Father did not attempt to transmit his Russian/German background and rarely spoke of his family.

The generational gap as a result of strong cultural tradition, and (probably) parental difficulties in moving beyond one's own ethnic group, was expressed by a Jewish student:

> My family is of Russian and Lithuanian descent but the strongest ethnic influence came from my religion, Judaism. We lived in a totally Jewish neighborhood and I never had a non-Jewish friend prior to college. We were taught that Jewish people needed to "stick together" and that we could never have any common grounds with a gentile. When I became independent enough of my family to associate with people who were not of Jewish faith, I made my new relationships with a sense of curiosity and rebelliousness, I married a man who was not Jewish, and although I was attracted to him for many reasons, my desire to rebel from the narrow culture in which I was raised also played a role in my choice of him as a mate.

In suggesting "sensitivity training" as a part of a module in the teaching of ethnicity in social work practice, I assume that the students' discussion of their cultural heritage will be followed by a case presentation in which the ethnic factors will be emphasized. These ethnic factors then, as discussed later in the case of L. family, could be substantiated with the theoretical concepts from social and psychoanalytic theories.

Implementation of Ethnic Components into Three Phases of Psycho-Social Process

The social work profession which developed its leading method, social casework, in serving the needy immigrants to this country, is but re-discovering ethnicity which, under the different names of "cultural heritage" or "socio-cultural background," was always an important part of the profession. It was Mary Richmond in 1917 who in her "Questionnaire Regarding Any Family" asked about "The Nationality of the four grandparents."[37] The nationality of the patient, that of his parents and grandparents, was, and still is the subject of a "selective inattention" in medical and psychiatric practice. Some of the social workers followed this lead, minimizing the professional expertise in the knowledge and understanding of clients' social environment. Fortunately, the situation is changing; more is being written about the significance of ethnicity for an individual and for a family.[38]

What we need, as a profession, having a history and a tradition of being sensitive to socio-cultural background of our clients, is an explicit and systematic method of ethnicity implementation into our teaching and practice. Ethnicity then should be approached as:

1. the characteristic of a client
2. the social fact in his environment
3. the value which is a structural part of his ethnic identity.

The three Interdependent phases of the psychosocial process, study (exploration), diagnosis (assessment) and treatment (intervention) can be enriched by a conscious, **scholarly** inclusion of the ethnic components. The process, however, will be sterile, and will not move beyond the beginning of an exploration without the establishment of the professional relationship. The sensitivity (developed in the sensitivity training) to the client's cultural difference, the knowledge of ethnic patterns, customs and values, the knowledge of the native language (with the bilingual client or a recent immigrant) may decide whether the client will accept or reject treatment.

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[37] Richmond,

[38] Papajohn and Spiegel argue that only by understanding the social and cultural bases of intrafamily conflict can the therapist plan an intervention strategy and develop therapeutic techniques of real value to members of ethnic families" Transactions in Families (San Francisco: Josey-Bass Pub.), 1975.

The following vignette will illustrate how the need of the clients was misunderstood by the worker and why further counseling and even financial help were refused.

Presenting Problem: The two sisters, Miss Rosa G., and Miss Ruth G., called a Jewish family service agency to request help in finding employment.

An appointment was made for the sisters to come in for an interview. They had immigrated to the United States from Austria after World War II ended, in 1945. At the time they arrived in the United States, the older sister, Rosa, a licensed practical nurse, was around forty years old, and the younger sister, Ruth, was 35 years old and a freelance artist. Both had been interned in Nazi concentration camps. Neither of the sisters had ever been married. At the present time, the sisters are in the lower middle class financially and receive retribution checks from the German government. They are now around 65 and 70 years of age. The sisters complained of still feeling persecuted by the Nazis, and feel that recent employment opportunities have been lost because "they" always interfere. The caseworker explained that the agency does not provide job-finding as a service. Offers of further counseling and financial aid were refused.

While the presenting problem was "help in finding employment," the problem of the sisters was far more complicated. The senile psychosis, suggested indirectly by the worker by quoting the sisters that "they" always interfere, may have been a natural outcome of the atrocity of the concentration camp, and the advanced age. The most important, though, is the indirectly expressed need to work, to be recognized through work which is one of the leading values of a Jewish person. The worker was not interested whether the sisters were German Jews, or whether they came to Austria from a different country, how long they stayed in the concentration camp, what happened to their family, and how it feels to live on retribution checks only, when both of them are professional persons with their own aspirations and hopes for life. Had the social worker initiated a discussion which would bypass the presenting problem, and move far beyond and above the present reality of "agency not providing job finding service," the relationship would have been established, leading to a counseling beneficial to the clients, and to the community by preventing the sisters' admission to a nursing home or to a mental hospital.

The Bird's Eye View of the client's psychosocial situation

"Holistic medicine recognizes the inextricable interaction between the person and his psychosocial environment."[39] Any disorder, mental or phsycial is a result of a complex interaction of social, psychological, physical, spiritual and cultural factors within a person's environment, and the inability of the person to adapt adequately to the pressure created by this interaction. Although the above is an integral part of the very base of the social work knowledge, there is a tendency among professionals (and the students) to either disregard or minimize the environment. The usual presentation of a case begins with a description of a client, the problem presented, the chronological history (usually detailed and often too long), and the analysis of ego "strengths and weaknesses, guilt feeling, drives and the final diagnostic label of an emotional disorder. Ethnic characteristics, cultural heritage, and ethnic identity--all part of person's environment, and at the same time an integral part of his inner psychological structure are minimized or forgotten.

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[39] Kenneth R. Pelletier, *Mind as Healer, Mind as Slayer*, (New York: A Delta Book, 1977).

An interesting example of this inattention or even avoidance of ethnicity as part of a family environment was written presentation of a family case by a group of my students. The students worked with the family for an extended period of time, and had conferences with me at regular intervals. The family was black, working class, a patriarchal type with a strong father, several adolescent children, and a mother more intelligent than the father with aspiration toward a higher social class for herself and for her children.

In our conferences we discussed the family ethnic characteristics and the black-white relationship which was also discussed openly with the family. To my amazement, the written presentation of this case completely ignored the ethnicity of the family. The family, as described by the students, was neither black nor white. There was not a single word referring to their race. The typical names of the children which were characteristic of this family and gave her the uniqueness and flavor, were changed (for the sake of confidentiality) to the typical Anglo-Saxon names very seldom used by a black family of this social class and this region of the country. The students confronted with my question why the word "black" was not used as a characteristic of this family, suddenly realized that they forgot to include it. They were taught for such a long time to forget mentioning of the ethnic differences between people, that my teaching ethnicity, although accepted on an intellectual level, didn't as yet change the ingrained pattern of avoiding open recognition of the cultural and race differences. The family's environment, their life style so characteristic of a black southern working class family was minimized for the sake of the libidinal and aggressive drives and the oedipal complex of the children.

By a "bird's eye view" of client's psycho-social situation I mean an all inclusive yet brief survey of person's or family's life space. Life space includes an individual (a client) or a family, and his or their environment. By environment I mean:

1. Persons (dead and alive) who at this time have meaning for a client, and
2. significant facts.

For the matter of convenience I divided the facts into psychological and institutional. Psychological facts symbolize the events which have an emotional significance for the person such as the facts of illness, marriage, divorce or separation, geographical change, birth of a child, change of employment, death of a relative, abandonment, court hearing, or suspension in school.

They also symbolize the ongoing processes which affect person's inner structure such as the process of experiencing the loss of an employment, the loss of health, or of an important person, the process of adjustment to a new situation, the process of identity confusion or identity restructuring.

Institutional facts symbolize the institutions, organizations or any small social groups within the community which have significance for the person (or a family) at a time of intervention. For example: hospital, school, church, court, social agency, place of employment, or ethnic organization.

I usually ask a student to draw person's or family's life space on a blackboard (please see the drawing of L. Family Life Space) and to represent the significant facts in the client's environment by drawing of the small squares (institutional facts) and of the squares surrounded by circles (psychological facts). This symbolic notation which I also use in therapy with my clients, proved to be a very helpful device in the process of a case analysis.

Once the facts are "positioned" on the blackboard, they acquire their own plasticity, their interaction becomes visible and their significance for the client and his behavior gains a new perspective.

This "bird's eye view" of the client's situation which is but a different approach to the psychosocial diagnostic process, begins with the environment, persons's place in the environment, and then move gradually inward analyzing the inner structure of the individual but always in relation to the totality of his life space.

The implementation of ethnic component into the teaching of the social work method is greatly facilitated by the above technique. As indicated earlier, this implementation can take place on three interdependent levels of the psycho-social process.

1. The characteristic of a client (his ethnic background) should become a part of the initial information gathering.

2. The ethnic heritage of a client should be considered as one of the psychological facts in his environment.

3. The ethnic heritage of a client should be approached as a value, and as a structural part of his identity.

Ethnicity as a characteristic of a client

The identifying information about a client usually includes his age, occupation, sex, marital status, employment status, income, name and address. They do not include client's ethnic background, nationality, or race and religion.[40]

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[40] Lewis R. Wolberg, The Techniques of Psychotherapy, p. 458-9.

I suggest, that as a part of the implementation of ethnicity in the teaching of social work practice, the students be assigned to include in their class presentation or papers the ethnic background of their clients as one of the identifying information. The meaning of this new information for the student, for the client, and for the treatment process could be then discussed.

Another identifying information seldom included in the social work records is a fact of person being bilingual, and using the English language as a second one in addition to his native tongue.

The meaning of a mother's tongue for the bilingual patient became recently a subject of the psychiatric studies.

> Patients whose mother tongue is not English comprise a significant proportion of psychiatric population . . . true communication is hampered by this language barrier. Recently, it has been demonstrated that this situation can introduce significant distortion in the psychiatric evaluation of patients whose knowledge of English is limited.[41]

Ethnicity as a psychological fact in client's environment

Quite often the ethnic heritage acquires an emotional significance for an individual. He may be either proud of his background, ashamed of it, and guilty that he is ashamed, may feel loyalty to his heritage, or may have a complex of interiority because of his ethnic origin. Ethnic heritage cannot be separated from family heritage, loyalty to own family, and to all those who share person's ethnic values. Isolation, anxiety,[42] depression, and mental illness can sometimes be traced to difficulties in the process of adjustment in which the *ethnicity* of a person played a significant part.

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[41] Louis R. Marcos, "Bilinguals in Psychotherapy: Language as an Emotional Barrier," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 30 (4) (October 1976).

[42] Mostwin, "Uprootment", 103-115.

Ethnicity as a value and as a structural part of person's identity

The archaic cultural values transmitted in the process of socialization became a structural part of a person's psychic apparatus. In psychoanalytic terms, these values are the building blocks of individual's superego, direct person's "do's and don'ts" and make themselves heard and felt theough the conscience pangs of guilt. Let's consider, for example this passage from my article "Uprootment and Anxiety":

> One of our friends, a scholar with whom we maintain a warm but rather infrequent contact, came to a small social gathering in our house. To our surprise, he stayed after all the other guests had left. Chain-smoking, tense as if overwhelmed by a sudden influx of internal stimuli, he began to talk, more to himself than to us. His monologue--in which memories of his youth in Poland, of his father and his grandfather, were interspersed with recollections of prison camp, escape from prison, his efforts and difficulties in resuming graduate studies interrupted by the war, his insecurity and struggle for survival first in Europe, then in United States--ended with the statement, "I feel very guilty. I feel guilty for being uninvolved for such a long time and not doing anything for the Polish cause."[43]

An adolescent in an immigrant family[44] may rebel against the parental values, yet may feel guilty and unhappy because of own rebellion. Contrary to this, the third, fourth and subsequent generations of immigrants may search for the ethnic values in attempt to "find oneself" or in "discovering one's own identity" in so popular today tracing of roots. Let us consider, for example, the following social phenomenon:

> Over the last five years, the history and genealogy room of the Library of Congress has seen an increase of abcut 80% in the use of its resources. The persons who are so interested in their genealogy are primarily young adults, children and grandchildren of immigrants, and school age boys and girls. However, the tracing of roots is widening, embracing people from all walks of life and becoming the topic of learning and discussion in colleges and in primary and

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Please see the case of L. family.

secondary schools.[45]

In view of the above citation, the eriksonian statement that "Ethnic identity problems were in the mental baggage of generations of new Americans"[46] acquires even more meaning. But for an immigrant the ethnic identity process becomes activated by a pressing need to adjust to a new socio-cultural environment, while for his children and grandchildren this mental baggage transmitted in the process of socialization, may be left unopen until a critical moment in life. This critical moment might be one of the phases of the bio-psycho-social development: adolescence, adulthood, or old age, or one of the life crises of loss, change of status, or change of geographical location.

Ethnic identity is not limited to an individual experience. If, for example, a group of persons experience a realization of common ethnic identity, the energy released may become a social force, either constructive or destructive, for the group, the individual within a group, and the environment. It is clear now why ethnic identity should become one of the factors in the analysis of person's behavior, and why in the planning of treatment either supportive (for example, with an older person in a nursing home) or reconstructive (for example with an adolescent), the social worker should be sensitive to, and knowledgeable about ethnicity.

Case illustration

The following case illustration of a problem of an adolescent, Michael Lainauskas, an Lithuanian-American is drawn from the files of a Catholic

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[45] Danuta Mostwin, "Family Treatment in a Pluralistic Society," Unpublished paper presented at the Conference on "American Family - Continuing Impact of Ethnicity," April 4, 1977.

[46] Erik H. Erikson, "Autobiographic Notes on the Identity Crisis" in Deadalus, (Fall 1970): 748.

Charities agency. The case is annotated with my comments regarding the implementation of the ethnic factor in the process of study, diagnosis and treatment. The analysis introduces "the bird's eye view" of the Lainauskas' situation, and the techniques of Symbolic Drawing of the Family Life Space which broaden and facilitate the helping process enriching it with the holistic approach to human problems.

The case of Michael Lainauskas

"May 28, 196-

Mrs. Lainauskas called Catholic Charities explaining she was having many problems with her teen-age son, Michael.

I asked if there was a possibility that her son would be cooperative in counseling. She said she did not know, but felt that she would like to talk to someone in this agency to see what she could do to help her son. An appointment was given."

This initial entry into the record indicates only that the case was self-referred. A mother called to request help with a problem of her teen age son. But even in this preliminary notation we are permitted a glimpse into caseworker's attitude toward her client's situation. "I asked if there was a possibility that her son would be cooperative in counseling" she dictated. Only "her son". No question about the father's attitude toward the son's problem. Not even an interest whether the father exists at all. The case therefore became self-limiting to a mother-son subsystem excluding the father, the father dead or alive, separated or divorced, the father who could have deserted the family and since the boy's problems, or the father ill, father unemployed, father mentally incapacited. The boy has no father from the beginning of the study. The holistic aspect of a case is therefore curtailed by the caseworker's lack of training in reaching-out technique, and in the importance of the environment.

> Mrs. Lainauskas came to Catholic Charities at 12:00 during her lunch hour. She was very tense and anxious during the interview, and related her son's problem as follow: she fears that he is taking marijuana and does not know whether this is on a continuing basis. She tried to dispel some of her anxiety about this by saying that a great many teenagers experiment with this drug with no thought of it becoming a continuing habit. This could be a case of Michael, her son. She admitted this, but then her son told her he was selling the drug as well as taking it. I asked if there were any other problems that were disturbing her in relation to her son.

We have learned so far that the mother, Mrs. Lainauskas, is working. She came to the agency during her lunch hour. I make a notation of this significant institutional fact by placing a symbolic figure (a square) in the L. family Life Space.*

We do not know, however, whether the mother is the only supporter in the family since the caseworker does not inquire about the father's employment. The caseworker seems not to be interested in the father or the part he might be playing in Michael's problem. She is concentrated on Michael and his problem of drug taking and drug selling which I note in the environment of the L. family Life Space as psychological fact, an event which has an emotional significance for a person, and which may also symbolize the ongoing process which affects person's inner structure.**

But what about the name of the family-Lainauskas? Doesn't this name, and its foreign sound stir up caseworker's professional curiosity? While I know that we will learn about it later in the record, I think that it would be most valuable to include client's ethnic background as a part of identifying information on a face sheet of a record. (Please see Symbolic Drawing of the Family

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*Please see p. , Theoretical Considerations, and p. , The Bird's Eye View of the Client's Psychosocial Situation, also p. 154, Symbolic Drawing of the Family Life Space.

**For more complete discussion, please see p. 127.

Life Space.)

The mother is anxious. She reveals the son's problem but tries to protect him justifying his behavior. ". . . a great many teenagers experiment with this drug." The caseworker in an attempt to gather more information about the "problem", ("are there any other problems which disturb her?") minimizes the environment thus separating the problem from the situation in which it evolved, and loosing the "Bird's eye view" of the totality. (Please see Theoretical considerations).

> She said that Michael had gotten to the point where he comes and goes as he pleases, never letting her know when or where he is going. He has lost interest in everything, school, hobbies, religion and she knows nothing about his social life. She stated he would graduate the following week from high school. I pointed out that this seemed to be an accomplishment, for many boys do drop out before graduation. She added that Michael was still respective to his parents, for all the children had been strictly trained to respect adults.

We are not surprised to learn about "the other problems which disturb the mother." They are, as we well know related to, and an outcome of Michael's drug taking and selling. But it is the mother who is concerned and anxious, and therefore I include in the environment of the Family Life Space a psychological fact of "Mother's concern about drugs".

In her attempt to console the mother, the caseworker uses the technique of generalizing the problem "many boys do drop out before graduation" but Michael accomplished something "he is not dropping out from high school before graduation." Mrs. L. reacts defensively to the caseworker's support. She tells her that Michael is still respective to his parents. To a sensitive ear of a therapist this statement may sound somewhat differently. What the mother is really saying is that Michael will not offend his parents by dropping out of school, since all her children have been strictly trained to the value of discipline and respect to adults. It is significant that the mother is not speaking about Michael hurting parental feelings, but about respect, and discipline, about children's discipline to adults, and about strictness and the value of respect.

Would the caseworker be trained in the recognition of the ethnic family values, she would understand better her client. As it is, the worker and the client speak two different languages based on two different sets of values. In the symbolic drawing of the Family Life Space I make a notation of a psychological fact of "Ethnic values of discipline and respect."

The importance of the value of respect can be substantiated by the study of a group of respondents representing the families of Eastern and Central European background.[45]

The following four values were expressed in the study:

1. Respect for the traditional structure of the family;
2. Preservation of family loyalty and family reciprocity;
3. Respect for old age;
4. Respect for the legal authority and order.

We can understand now why Mrs. Lainauskas, a Lithuanian-American, thinks and feels in terms of "respect, tradition, order and family loyalty." She was socialized to these values, and she could not help but transmit the values she cherishes and esteems to her children. An American caseworker may possibly consider her to be a rigid, controlling parent with an obsolete value system. She may even try "to restructure her personality" so as to become more understanding to her American son. But is Michael truly and totally American? Or, could he be? Let us examine now the family background as dictated by the caseworker.

Family background

> Mr. and Mrs. L. are both Lithuanian. They were married in that country, but the children were all born in the United States. There are two other children in the home. The oldest is a girl, Nina, 21, the youngest

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[47] Mostwin,"Values and Attitudes," 4.

> child is John, 11, and Michael, 18, is the middle child. Mrs. L. describes her family as very intellectual. Mr. L. reads and writes a great deal. He has very little time in which to spend with his children. Mrs. L. works as a senior clerk in X.

This handful of information about the family represents a wealth of material which a skillful sociotherapist can use in the formulation of a diagnosis, and in a treatment process of a client.

The parents, we learn, were married in "that" country, meaning, in Lithuania, in a north-eastern part of Europe. Lithuania is a small country, densely wooded with the forests taking over 20 percent of the territory and with numerous lakes. The Lithuanians are not demonstrative by nature, but rather stoic, withdrawn, conservative, and even stubborn.

We assume that Mr. and Mrs. L. left their country during the World War II. They probably spent several years in the Displaced Persons' camp in Germany before they were admitted to the United States where all their children were born. They are one of many transplanted families who immigrated to America because of political reasons since Lithuania is currently under the Russian domination, while before the World War II it was an independent state. In the environment of the Family Life Space I add an important psychological fact: parents' immigration. We can now think about parents, Michael's parents not only Michael's mother. An intellectual father who writes and reads a great deal appears at last on the scene. I wonder what the father is doing, why he spends so much time alone, what is his profession, but the caseworker is determined not to inquire about the father. Let us speculate then: Mr. L. is an immigrant, a person who left his country for other than economic reasons (he is an intellectual, or an educated person), but he is primarily a father in a transplanted family. "Transplantation is conceived of as a process involving social, cultural, physical and economic change of an environment for its individual members."[48] All those factors of change acted (and maybe still act) as stressors which produce in individual family members, and in a family as a unit an excess of stress as a reaction in the processes of adaptation.[49] Maybe the father is still struggling with his process of adaptation and this is why he isolates himself from the family? "In the Lithuanian family the father is the boss . . . but the father and the mother constitute a team."[50] What happened here to Mr. L. that he abandoned his role of "a boss", and even that of a team member with his wife? Did the father's relinquishment of his fatherly role influence Michael's behavior?

> The oldest daughter, Nina, was described by Mrs. L. as very intelligent. She is graduating from college in June. The youngest boy, John, has presented problems in the past. Last year, Mrs. L. reported, she sought help with him in a mental health clinic. She spent some time with the woman counselor who felt that Michael's problem was a conflict of cultures. The homelife has always been very European in discipline. Both Mr. and Mrs. L. promoted the culture from which they came to their family. The children, after leaving the home, are exposed to a bit more permissive culture. After hearing Mrs. L. talk of Michael's problem and the homelife, I asked if she had any idea of why the boy was presenting problems that seemed to indicate unhappiness.

I stop here in my reading of "family background" to make note of several significant facts in the environment of Family Life Space. Institutional facts are: Nina's college and the mental health clinic where mother sought help for John. Psychological facts are: promotion of Lithuanian culture, mother's concern about John's emotional problems, and the conflict of cultures.

We learned that Michael's problems are not recent, and not isolated. John the younger brother was already a patient in a mental health clinic. Would it be possible that the boys' problems are related to their father's abdication from his fatherly role? I think, they are not only related to the father's position at home but to the conflict of values between the Lithuanian home and the American environment. Let us proceed even further. Both boys, John and Michael are in the adolescent stage of development, both, although on different levels, because of the difference in age, experience the process of identity formation. Is it possible that they may experience identity confusion, and since they are culturally divided, between the home and the environment, could this identity confusion include an ethnic factor? It might be helpful to stop here, and to consider how it feels to be culturally divided.

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[48] Danuta Mostwin, "The Profile of A Transplanted Family," in The Polish Review 19 (1) (1974), 77-89.

[49] Hans Selye, The Stress of Life, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1956), 55-85.

[50] Mostwin, "Values and Attitudes,"

The feeling of being culturally divided, often against one's own desire for a peaceful and uncomplicated wholeness, is repressed by many and discussed openly by few. It is an unresolved problem to those suffering the dilemma of divided loyalty and who are sometimes too easily labeled schizophrenics. According to Freud, the ego-ideal formed in childhood through a process of parental internalization, the idealization of values, norms, and attitudes held by the parents tends toward the aggrandizement of these values in a person's mind. To be disloyal to one's parental cultural heritage means not to measure up to the ego-ideal. But to reject the new patterns of behavior acquired in the process of adjustment, because it would not meet parental expectations could threaten a person's emotional or physical survival. The instinct of self-preservation will usually win in the battle with the ego-ideal's directives, but at what price? This conflict of loyalty to cultural norms and values, seldom recognized by a mental health professional, may lead to a state of anxiety without apparent cause. Let us return to the question asked by the caseworker: "I asked if she (Mrs. Lainauskas) had any idea of why the boy was presenting problems that seemed to indicate unhappiness." Would it be more therapeutic to make one of the following statements, rather than ask a direct question which hides an accusation that the parents were making Michael unhappy. The caseworker may say, for example, something like this: "It is not easy for an adolescent boy to grow up in a culturally divided climate" or "Michael seems to be very loyal to his father's and mother's cultural heritage but he seems to be also fascinated with the American youth culture. The "old" and the "new" worlds are sometimes very difficult to reconcile." Such, or similar statements could open up in the mother new avenues for the release of feelings until now undisclosed and could hopefully ease her anxiety. This technique could, in a non-threatening way, build a bridge of understanding between the two human beings of two different cultural heritages: the caseworker and her client. This approach then, based on sensitivity to and knowledge of ethnicity, will lead into the development of a truly professional relationship which, in Buber's words "will be characterized by the element of inclusion," an "I-Thou" relation, a dialogue in which one person "lives through the common event from the standpoint of the other."[51]

The caseworker is not living through the common event from the point of view of the mother, since mother's point of view is strongly conditioned by her cultural heritage, and the caseworker has not been trained in the recognition of and the sensitivity to the ethnic factors. The mother, therefore, defends herself against the caseworker's accusation that she contributed to "Michael's unhappiness".

> She first stated that she and her husband have always tried to keep an interest in the children, praise them for what they did. She

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[51] Martin Buber, Between Man and Man, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1967), 97.

> said that when they were young, anytime they drew a picture it was always placed on the wall for display. Michael has drawn one as a child and had taken an interest in drawing ability. The home atmosphere is always one of intellectualizing, reading and all the things that Mrs. L. considered cultural. Interests were encouraged. Mrs. L. states that she bought Michael a guitar thinking that he would enjoy taking lessons. We discussed further why Michael had lost interest in everything that he has done in the past.

In her defense against the caseworker's accusation of not making her son happy (or, shall we say, not making him happy by not giving him enough love), the mother involves the father. For the first time she presents them as a team who tried hard to bring up the children the way they felt was best for them. Best, to those parents, meant intellectual and cultural. It was not, I assume, an open expression of love in having fun together for the sake of fun, pleasure and amusement. It was an expression of love which involved an active transmission of oneself in one's own culture and in one's own intellectual abilities.

The relations in the families of Central and Eastern European background are characterized more by mutual respect, support, cooperation, financial and spiritual help, staying together and sacrificing for an individual member's good than by "family love". Love is expressed in action, and the words "love" and "happiness" are used cautiously with more meaning attached to them than in everyday American language.

But Mrs. Lainauskas is also trying, and I suspect in vain, to communicate to the caseworker one of her main values, and the priority of her family: their intellectual and cultural standard. Why is she doing this? Is she trying to impress the caseworker with the intellectual superiority of herself and her husband? Or maybe her insistance on the culture and intellect is an attempt to change the caseworker's view of an Eastern European immigrant: a person without a formal education who should be satisfied with the fact that her son did not drop out of high school before graduation?

Is she, maybe, sensing a well ingrained protective shield in the caseworker's mind which does not permit her to see the real Mrs. Lainauskas? The caseworker is not interested in the climate of the home, or in the family's values. She is focused only on Michael's problems as though they could have been separated from his total life space. But:

> Finally, Mrs. L. brought out several points. Quite belligerently, she revealed that her husband did nothing in the home. She cared for everything, even drove the car, because her husband did not drive. Most of the time he stayed in his room writing or reading. Here we explored the idea that Michael might want more attention from his father.

The continuation of Family Background brings forth, at last, more information about the husband-father, and some of Mrs. L's attitudes towards him. Unfortunately, he emerges in a rather negative light. He is no longer an intellectual locked in his own world, a person who, for some reasons unknown to us was not able to adjust to his new country as well as to his energetic wife, a man who lost his self-confidence to the point of not being able to drive the family car. The caseworker picks up from the mother's description of the father the characteristics which will fit well an average American family which may experience problems with an adolescent. Mr. L. becomes, as described by the caseworker, a weak father, an uncaring husband, who, no wonder, is a part of Michael's problems. As we will learn later, he is not even interested in football. From the above information I deduct a significant psychological fact which I place in the Family Life Space, father's isolation from the family.

> She added that Michael always liked sports; thus, he is different from the intellectual members of his family. She reported that he had always wanted to play football, but she and Mr. L. did not think that this was wise. They did let him play basketball, he made the Junior Varsity Team. However, he lost interest in this. She said that she and Mr. L. attended one or two of the games to watch him play, but Mr. L. soon wanted to go back to his own interests. Michael did tell his parents, at one time, that all the other players' parents were at every game, cheering them, while they were seldom there. Some time ago, Michael wanted to play in a teen-age band, but he was not permitted to do this.

The difference in values between the home and the environment becomes now more apparent. The parents, as we learn, try to adapt to the American way of life. It is easier for the mother, Mrs. Lainauskas.

In my study of the transplanted family[52] a woman, on the average, was more successful in getting employment than a man. A professional woman, more exposed to American cultural values, acted often as liason between the new environment and her family system, thus opening more and wider channels of exchange.

Mr. Lainauskas feels ill-at-ease among the crowd of cheering, enthusiastic parents. Besides, he is not interested in sports, he was not brought up in the admiration of baseball or football heroes. The seed of father-son misunderstanding, of father-son lack of communication, and of Michael's "lack of interest in everything" was probably planted at that time of Michael's participation in Junior Varsity Team.

> At present Michael is not interested in school but has enrolled in a community college. He has no idea what he will do if he does not attend school. We talked of how Mrs. L. could develop some type of interest within her son. I asked if he had ever been a camp counselor. The mother said she was able to get him a job as a camp counselor last summer and this didn't work out at all. The camp director reported that Michael stayed up half the night talking with other counselors and was too tired to do much the next day.

It seems that Michael is confused, maybe depressed? Is it possible that he might be experiencing a process of ethnic identity confusion? After all, he is growing up, and maturing in a culturally divided home, with a father whom he probably both loves and hates. But he cannot help but be loyal to his father, and, because of this filial loyalty, to have feelings, positive and negative, toward his father's and his own ethnicity. To act against one's ethnic heritage will mean acting against one's own father. But to accept totally the cultural difference, and to become exactly like the father, will mean becoming different from one's own friends whose approval Michael is striving to win. He stayed up half the night talking with other counselors. Did he try to convince them that he is one of them? How much does he talk with his father? Can he talk with him? Or is he perceiving the father a stranger with an unknown past, and as a misfit in a society in which he, Michael, would hope to succeed?

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[52] Mostwin, "Transplanted Family,"

Ethnicity as a value, and ethnic identity as a subjective process of adjustment, and as a factor in the analysis of a person's behavior, were discussed earlier in this chapter. The discussion was partially based on the writings of Erikson which were in print in the early and mid-sixties. The caseworker bypassed the problem of identity in an eighteen year old client. Instead, she supports the mother in her dominance over the son by talking with her how she, the mother, (and not the father) could develop some type of interest in Michael. The mother, encouraged, reveals more of Michael's problems.

> She added in an anxious manner, that she was told Michael was seeing the girl in the town nearby. She almost whispered, saying she had no idea of how intense this relationship was. Asked her if Michael dated girls in this area for she had not discussed any dates that he has made. She said he used to go with one girl; she would drive him to and from the girl's house. He eventually lost interest in her.

No wonder that Michael lost interest in a girl if his mother was driving him to and from the girl's house. We almost smile, reading the last few lines from the family background.

I assume that Mrs. L. came to the agency around 1969. But the ethnic families are more conservative about sex than the young American generation. In the study of Transplanted Family over 46% of fathers disapproved of early dating (under 16 years of age), and only 41% approved of their children "going steady".

> After hearing Mrs. L. relate some of the things that had gone wrong with Michael and his parents, I asked if she felt her son might feel his personality was completely suppressed. I also asked if she felt he was always competing with his sister who had achieved so much. She did not know whether this was the case.

This brings us to the end of Family Background, and to the following diagnostic evaluation by the caseworker:

> Michael appears to be frustrated by a rigid family situation dominated by a mother with no identification of a virile male figure. The boy also might feel greatly challenged by a second female, his sister. Indications are that he is possibly rebelling against the discipline at home and resents a certain amount of authority. In addition, he probably needs some sense of independence.

We have now reached the completion of the study, the first phase of the psycho-social process. We will now proceed to formulate a diagnosis (or, if you wish, "a diagnostic evaluation", or "assessment"), a second phase of the process. Our diagnosis will be somewhat different, broader and yet more specific than that of the caseworker. But we are in a more advantageous position than she was since it is easier to analyze a case from a distance than to deal with it "on a battle ground". We are also equipped with the knowledge of ethnicity which will give our diagnosis an additional dimension, and will later on change the treatment plan. Our diagnosis will be based on and will relate to the diagram, Symbolic Drawing of the Family Life Space, which we have been completing all along our first phase of the psycho-social process. Our diagnosis will not be focused exclusively on Michael but it will be an all inclusive view--a bird's eye view--of the totality of the psycho-social situation. This will include the environment, Michael's position within his environment, the appraisal of his inner structure, and the evaluation of his behavior as a function of environment, his position within the environment, and his psychological structure.

Let us now return to the Symbolic Drawing of the Family Life Space. In the upper left corner I noted the essential identifying information. There is an interrogation mark after the father's employment. This omission is difficult to understand, and will limit our diagnosis. We may assume that the father is a free-lance writer. But then another question comes to my mind: If he is a free-lance writer, in what language is he writing? The answer will have a meaning for Michael, and also for us in the understanding of Michael's behavior. Since we do not have the answer, we will assume that the father is writing and reading in his native Lithuanian language.

The large Family Circle is spotted with five little circles. They symbolize the individuals in Michael's family. I placed the mother in the middle of the circle. She occupies the central position, her presence seems to radiate all over. I placed the father near the boundary of the Family Circle, removed and in one-down position in relation to the mother. Nina, the scholar of the family is also removed but I see her in the upper part of the Family Circle. I placed Michael close to the boundary, higher up than the father, in the opposite end of the circle but in a nearly symmetrical position with the father. I think that Michael and father might be similar in many respects, in spite of their different attitudes to sport. We know very little about the youngest child, John, other than that he he had some kind of emotional problems and the mother had to take him to an outpatient mental health clinic. I placed John closer to the mother, and nearly in the center of the Family Circle.

My impression of the family is that of a disjointed group which the mother tries to keep together. A similar symbolic drawing produced by a family in treatment will indicate to me a need for family therapy with a focus on marital relation.

The revue of the psychological facts in the environment may provide us with a key to the understanding of why the L. family experiences anxiety which is acted out by the two sons, John and Michael.

In listing the facts I will relate them to each other, thus providing a "bird's eye view" of the psychosocial situation. The fact of parental immigration is closely related to the fact of the promotion of Lithuanian culture, and of the ethnic values of discipline and respect. But the immigration, and the ethnic difference is also the reason for the father's isolation, his tendency to bury himself alive among his books and writings, and away from the strange environment. The father's behavior influences the role reversal in the family, in which the mother takes over the role of the provider, family spokesman, and the decision-maker in relation to her sons. The conflict of cultures emphasized by the father's isolation is related to John's emotional problems and Michael's rebellious behavior. Nina is acting out her father's intellectual ambitions in a new country, but she seems to be emotionally removed from the family. The heavy demands on the mother, both emotional and physical, perpetuate her anxiety which she tries to relieve by "talking about her problems" with various mental health workers including the caseworker in Catholic Charities agency.

Having a "bird's eye view" of Michael's psychosocial situation, we may now proceed to examine more closely his psychological structure. In doing this, I will try to approach the sensitive process which is difficult to grasp: Michael's ethnic identity confusion, which, it seems to me, might be one of the main reasons of his problematic behavior.

Erikson, in Identity, Youth and Crisis, observed that:

> One methodological precondition . . . for grasping identity would be a psychoanalysis sophisticated enough to include the environment;

> the other would be a social psychology which is psychoanalytically sophisticated; together they would obviously institute a new field which would have to create its own historical sophistication . . .[53]

Moving into the direction suggested by Erikson, we should examine, in addition to the environment which we already analyzed, the process of Michael's inner restructuring, using as a frame of reference some of the concepts of the psychoanalytic theory. Michael is an eighteen year old adolescent.

> The defenses which have up to adolescence appeared to be adequate now become ineffective. Repressed childhood material emerges as well as new symptoms related to the acute current problems. The bodily changes and powerful sexual impulses from within and the social forces from without place great stress upon the developing ego, which is at best fragile any way. There is a struggle to control the turbulent sexual drives and aggressive impulses. The emancipation from internalized parental controls as well as actual emancipation from parents is impaired, and the adolescent's aspirations toward psychological and physiological maturity are blocked.[54]

> . . . oedipal strivings are revived and now interact with an ego that has acquired new capacities and dimensions, yet faces entirely new tasks. With the increase of pressure from instinctual drives, the ego uses various defense mechanism which it has learned to use in the past, and to a much greater extent than ever before.[55]

Michael's struggle with the normal pains of adolescence is aggravated and complicated by the fact of cultural conflict, and by the emotional distance from the father who, for this boy, symbolizes the ethnic heritage which is also an integral part of him and which he unsuccessfully tries to reject. Unconsciously he is hunted by the question: "Who am i?" He is experiencing an ethnic identity crisis.

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[53] Erikson, 24.

[54] Sidney Berman, M.D., "Psychotherapy of Adolescents at Clinic Level," in Psychotherapy of the Adolescent, p. 98, edited by Benjamin H. Balser, M.D. (New York: International University Press, 1957).

[55] William L. Peltz, M.D., "Psychotherapy of Adolescents at Private Practice Plus School Practice Level," in Psychotherapy of the Adolescent, p. 62, edited by Benjamin H. Balser, M.D., (New York: International University Press, 1957).

We may now summarize our diagnostic consideration into a concise diagnostic evaluation:

Michael is an adolescent in a Lithuanian immigrant family. Brought up in the strict values of discipline, respect for adults, religious and moral obligations, values of education and intellectual pursuits, he is rebelling against them by accepting the youth subculture of his environment. The isolation of the father may be possibly a symptom of depression which could be related to his uprootedness, loss of status, and his difficulties in adjustment to the new-socio-cultural environment. Father's problem seems to be acted out by the two adolescent sons. Mother's anxiety might be an outcome of her overcompensating for the father in her carrying of both parental roles. Little is known about the oldest child, the daughter, and the emotional difficulties she might possibly have in college.

The problem is centered in the father-son relationship, and in the relationship of husband and wife. The family situation is aggravated by its cultural transplantation, and by the adolescent children's ethnic identity confusion.

We will begin now our discussion of the third phase of the psychosocial process, treatment, (or intervention) with the caseworker's dictation of her plan for treatment.

> Michael needs help in discovering and uncovering personal interests and goals and some encouragement for working out plans for himself. Identification with a dominant male figure possibly would be helpful. He might feel resentful of the passive male image presented by his father. Some contact should be made with Mrs. L. to help her assume a less dominant role in her relationship with her son.

Our plan for treatment will be somewhat different from the one suggested by the caseworker. In our planning we will look "at how the situational components can be modified in order to assess the possibility of modifying the elements which have been etiologically identified as contributing causatively to the problem . . . (and) how we can alleviate the client's distress and decrease the malfunctioning in the person-situation system."[56]

Consequently, our focus in treatment will not be limited to Michael as an individual but will include the totality of Michael's life space of which his family is a major part. Our plan for treatment, although in line with Florence Hollis' theoretical framework, will emphasize the implementation of the ethnic component which, in this third phase of the psychosocial process, will serve us as a complementary tool in sharpening our treatment techniques.

In theory and in practice, ethnicity is closely related to the family. While I do agree with the caseworker's suggestions for Michael: discovering and uncovering personal interests and goals and working out plans for himself, I am not satisfied with the rest of her treatment plan. I think that in this particular situation our primary client is not Michael, but the total family system. Since the L. family is in distress because of the mother's anxiety, father's isolation, and possibly depression, John's and Michael's behavioral problems, marital disharmony, and father-son lack of communication--our treatment plan should be directed toward the modification or alleviation of family problem.

Before we formulate the concrete treatment goals, and techniques, let us once more return to the caseworker's dictation.

> At the end of this first interview, I asked Mrs. L. if she felt Michael would talk to someone in this office on a continuing basis. I felt that this needed to be a male, and told her there was a possibility that Father Paul would be able to help her son. She stated that she would ask her son if he would come in, and would call me later.

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[56] Florence Hollis, "The Psychosocial Approach to the Practice of Casework," in Theories of Social Casework, edited by R. W. Roberts and R. H. Nee, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), 56-57.

> Mrs. L. called the following Monday stating that she had talked to Michael and he was agreeable to come to Catholic Charities and willing to talk to Father Paul. She emphasized that he would completely reject anything that was presented to him on the basis of religious or moral obligation.

The caseworker put her treatment plan in action by asking the mother to send Michael to the agency. She hoped that by talking to Father Paul, a therapist in the agency, the boy would be helped to discover his personal interests, and have an opportunity to identify "with a dominant male figure." Let us now formulate the concrete treatment goals which will implement the ethnic component.

Treatment goals

1. Open up channels of communication between Michael and his father,
2. Improve the marital relationship by clarifying roles within the family,
3. Restructure the family system by moving the father toward the center of the family circle, and to a team position with the mother.

Treatment techniques and procedures

1. The father, Mr. L., should be approached by a male caseworker using a reach-out technique, and seeing him individually in the office, or, if necessary, at home. The person who will see the father should become familiar with the Lithuanian ethnic values (discussed earlier in this chapter), with the current political situation of Lithuania, and with the reasons and circumstances of Lithuanian immigration to the United States after World War II. The father should be assured of his importance in the family, and of his son's need for his assistance.

2. The father-son dialogue should be initiated in the presence of the male caseworker, and later in the family meeting. The difference in cultural upbringing should be discussed, as well as the difference in the process of

adjustment of father and son. The father should be offered a leadership role in advising the boy as to his future plans, even if these plans will not meet with the caseworker's approval. To begin with criticism will only discourage the father, and only very gradual persuasion will allow him to modify his plans.

3. The marital counseling session should be arranged, using a reach-out technique, and explaining to the parents that Michael's problem ought to be discussed by the two of them. It is important that the caseworker be either a mature woman, or that two therapists, male and female, will hold sessions with the parents. The reason for this is that the father will not accept "advice" from a young woman. This attitude, which is also true of many American fathers, is especially pronounced among ethnic families.

4. The family therapy, if even for one or two sessions, will prove very helpful in meeting the treatment goals.

The reader of this case illustration probably wonders what happened to Michael after he did see Father Paul in Catholic Charities. We learn about it in the final dictation on this case.

9-16-196_

> Father Paul talked to Michael during one interview. He also talked with me. Michael is a likeable boy, very outgoing and reports that he likes people and likes to be around them. His parents can't understand this or why he always likes to be away from home. He admits to smoking marijuana, but now feels that it isn't worth it. Wants to attend school and go into any field in which he can work with people.
>
> Father Paul called for later appointments but the boy never came in.
>
> No further services to be offered and case is closed this date, September 16, 196-.

We may only speculate why Michael never came back, and why he politely came in once to see Father Paul. After all, he was brought up in strict respect for adults, and he was not, as yet, completely out of it.

The case illustration of the Lainauskas', a Lithuanian-American family, completes the third part of this chapter. The case of Lithuanian-American was chosen as an example for two reasons: (1) that, the case lent itself to the analysis, and (2) that, according to my study of six East-European ethnic groups,[57] the Lithuanian-Americans are the ethnic group most mistrustful and fearful of strangers. The other groups are:

Czechoslovaks--admit strangers with reservation. The family will ask for service but distance should be maintained, and standardized approach will be found offensive.

Estonians--strangers admitted with great reservation. Asking for help will be delayed. A mental health problem is viewed as degrading. The family is too proud to accept help; the stranger should know the language and facts about Estonia.

Hungarians--prefer not to admit strangers. The family prefers to solve problems at home. If they perceive care to be definitely needed, it will be requested, but the stranger should be sensitive to the cultural differences.

Poles-- reluctant to expose weakness to strangers. The family will not seek help on their own initiative, except in an emergency and then, reluctantly. The stranger should be respectful, should be introduced by a trustworthy person, and be clear about service.

Ukrainians--the family would rather starve than seek help. If in need, they will first consult the priest or a person of Ukrainian background. The stranger should speak the language, be of Slavic background and be very formal using Mrs., Miss, and Mr. and never first names.

And finally, the Lithuanians--they are fearful and mistrustful of strangers. They will not ask for help. They feel it is a shame to accept charity and insulting to be offered advice. Because they are a small nation, they have strong ties, and outsiders are not admitted to this close circle.

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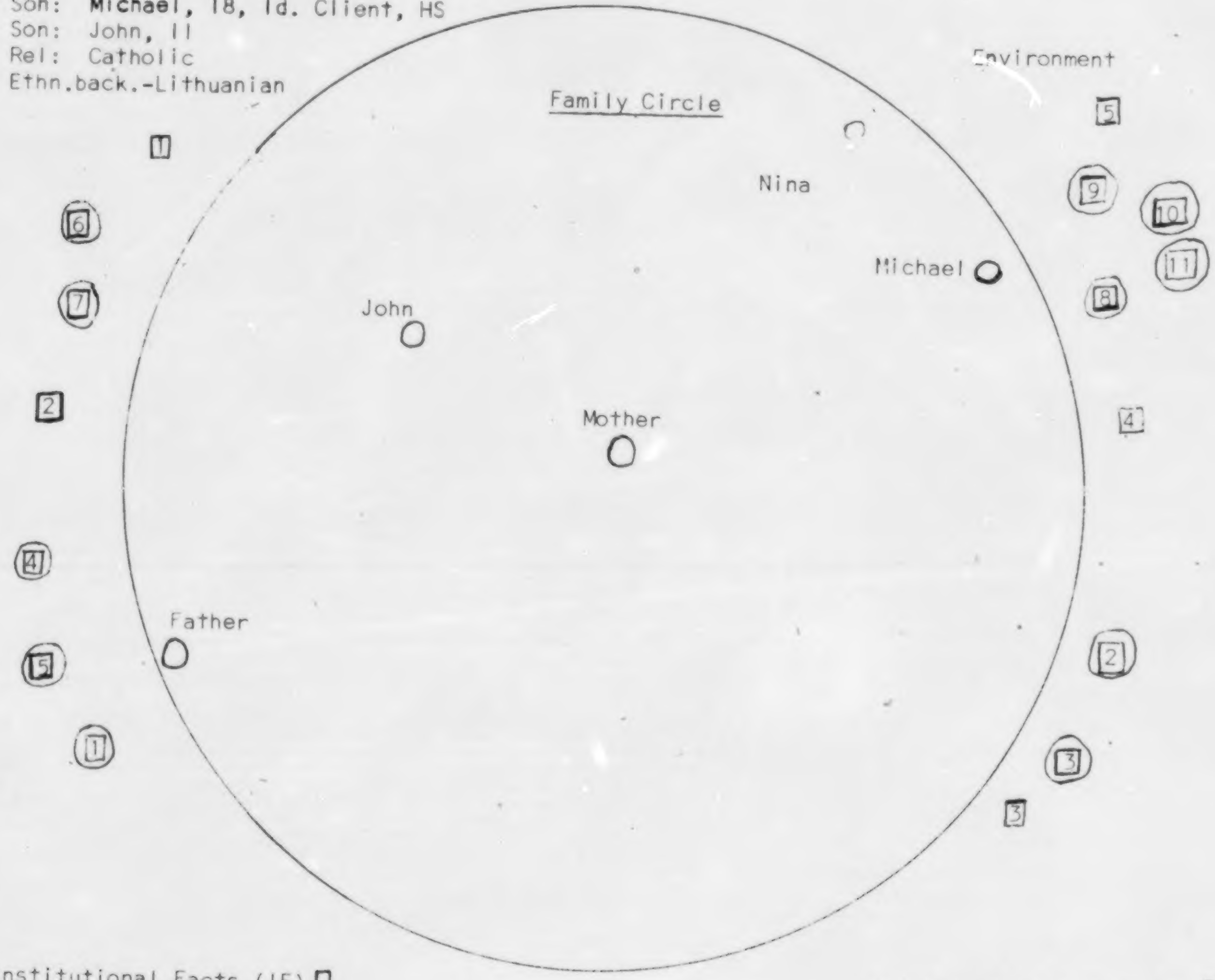
[57] Mostwin, "Differential Values."

Although the case illustration was limited to the Lithuanian-Americans, it provides a framework for the inclusion of the ethnic component in the psychsocial analysis in dealing with clients of various ethnic background.

Symbolic Drawing of the Family Life Space

Identifying Information
Mr. A.: Father-employment?
Mrs. A: Mother-employed in the N Department
Daughter: Nina, 21 in college
Son: **Michael**, 18, Id. Client, HS
Son: John, 11
Rel: Catholic
Ethn.back.-Lithuanian



Institutional Facts (IF) ☐

1. Mother's work
2. Mental health clinic
3. Catholic Agency
4. M's school
5. N's college

Psychological Facts (PF) ⊡

1. Parents' immigration
2. Ethnic values of discipline and respect
3. Promotion of Lithuanian culture
4. Father's isolation from the family
5. Father's interest in reading and writing
6. Mother's concern about durgs
7. Mother's concern about j's emotional problems
8. M's isolation from the family
9. Drug taking and drug selling
10. Conflict of cultures
11. M's ethnic identity confusion

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CHAPTER 4

ETHNICITY IN THE TEACHING OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

by
David S. Harrington, M.S.W.

ETHNICITY IN THE TEACHING OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

David Sheridan Harrington

Introduction

The community organization method in social work education has embraced a broad definition of "community" and a wide variety of approaches to community work. As in the other methods of social work practice, the community organizer is expected to be capable of applying any or several models of community work to any community in the United States and even internationally. The emphasis on the universal applicability of the various models has lessened the emphasis placed on cultural differences between and within communities. This de-emphasis of the cultural variable has caused ethnic pluralists to question the philosophical and practice values of the community organization method.

This paper will explore the urban ethnic experience with the community organization method to seek answers to such questions as:

1. Why community organizers have learned to disregard rather than to work with ethnic differences?
2. What new models, if any, offer new approaches to community organization, inclusive of the ethnic difference?
3. How do these models affect the communities where they are applied?
4. Where and how ought these models be included in social work education curriculum to better train community organizers?

Kolm identifies the importance of community in any discussion of ethnicity or ethnic difference for those who might consider cultural uniqueness a matter of personal choice. He writes:

> . . . This cultural uniqueness (ethnicity) must be supported by social structures and processes which make possible the intergenerational transmission of the unique culture. These structures and processes pertain mainly to the family and community life of a group . . .[1]

Mostwin highlights the role of the ethnic community organization and hints at social workers' problems in working with them in:

> . . . The ethnic community organization is an extension of the family and similar rules apply in approaching it. It is possible that ethnic leaders keep professional social workers away from the inner life of their communities. Or, maybe, the social workers never gave it a try.[2]

Social work training, by disregarding ethnic differences rather than working with[3] them, has caused serious problems even for the best community organizers. That is, the organizers' failure to recognize the meaning of positive group identity within each sub-group or main group in any given community has kept many communities from realizing long-term goals of community cohesion and of effective community action. Too often, the trained community organizer will emphasize the need for change and for new organizations regardless of existing attitudes toward change and of established organizations. The joining of feelings of discomfort, caused by forced change, to feelings of mistrust engendered by the organizers' insensitivity to group differences has caused many communities to accuse community organizers of promoting further community disintegration instead of creating more viable communities.

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[1] Richard Kolm, "Ethnicity and the Ethnic Family in American Social Work," paper presented to the Conference on the American Family, Catholic University, Washington, D.C., April, 1977, p. 2.

[2] Danuta Mostwin, "Ethnicity in the Teaching of Social Work Practice," paper presented to the Conference on the American Family Catholic University, Washington, D.C., April, 1977, p. 15.

[3] Joseph Giordano, "Servicing and Organizing the White Ethnic Working Class-Community," Journal of Education for Social Work, II-I, Winter, 1975 p. 60.

Black, white, and brown ethnic groups across the country have suffered at the hands of organizers' insensitive to group differences. Urban ethnic groups, of importance to organizers in the 60's and 70's because of Federal funds made available to them, have fallen prey to many models of community organization and have not fared much better, and some are even worse off as a result. The leadership in these ethnic groups has reacted so negatively to the efforts of organizers that many, though in need of assistance, refuse the support offered by organizers for fear of further harm to their communities.

One important reason for the failure of organizers is rooted in the fact that social work education has assigned a corollary role to culture in its models of community organization. Quite often, organizers are heard asking: Why are ethnic groups so resistant to change? Why are they so obstinate? These questions need only be turned around for a challenge for social work education to appear: Why are the organizers so insistent on change? Why are they so forceful and insensitive in trying to bring about change? Kolm analyzes the problem from another vantage point:

> The reluctance of ethnic groups to abandon their own ways must be interpreted as the healthy reaction of humans beings to untested changes which may have a profound negative impact on their group and which may lead to disorganization and disintegration of the group.[4]

The challenge to social work education is to take culture and cultural differences off the back burner and assign to it the proper importance in the organizer's training. Two essential principles for organizers must be incorporated into the social work curriculum: (1) the importance of recognizing the right of different groups to maintain their culture; and (2) the need for organizers to understand and accept the cultural differences they encounter.

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[4] Kolm, p. 25.

Historical Aspects

Settlement houses made the initial social work contact with many of the newly-arriving immigrant groups. Settlement workers sought to help immigrants in their adjustment to life in America. Cultural differences were de-emphasized because many pro-labor progressives used the idea of ethnic and racial differences to demand restricted immigration laws.[5] Instead, the settlement houses asked Americans to be sympathetic to the plight of the immigrant and offered immigrants little encouragement in their efforts to preserve their cultural identity.

The newly-arrived immigrants sought to move away from the transitional neighborhoods where they had been received. To be sure, some immigrants had no mobility and remained in these transitional communities. Those who were able to move sought, for the most part, ethnic neighborhoods where they could preserve their cultural identity.

These immigrants developed neighborhoods that were vital and viable and yet secure enough for the transmission of culture to their children. They worked hard to develop and/or to gain control of these institutions most important to them: the local parish with its religious and educational functions; the local political club with its patronage and oversight of neighborhood affairs; and the labor union as the vehicle for secure employment. Mutual-aid societies were formed to insure the immigrant against any catastrophic events. Ethnic churches, parochial schools, and cultural organizations were the key community institutions for the support and transmission of cultural uniqueness.

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[5] Alvin Kogut, "The Settlements and Ethnicity: 1890-1914," Social Work 17-3, May 1972, 22-31.

Social work did not have a role in these neighborhoods. Instead, social work described for itself a role of working with the whole "community" through elitist community chests and councils.[6] Social workers encouraged everyone to participate, but the chests and councils remained philanthropic (rich to poor) with most ethnics excluded for class reasons or uninvolved because centralized philanthropy did not appeal to them.

The struggle for neighborhood autonomy and security caused white ethnic groups to insulate themselves from alien forces of social change active across America. Such was the strength of these communities that many enjoyed over fifty years of non-interference from societal factors. Unfortunately, most of these neighborhoods denied the significance of the massive social changes which altered urban America after World War II. Who knows what the condition of urban areas would be now if ethnics had chosen to fight instead of ignore suburbanization, the building of axial highways out of the cities, the dumping of millions of black, brown and white poor into the inner city, etc.? However, we must be careful to point out ethnic groups were only one of many elements in urban America affected by those changes. Yet, none of the other elements, including social workers, resisted those changes either.

The 60's shook white ethnics from their lethargy. Deprived minority groups, condoned and even encouraged by social workers, began assaulting three institutions closest to ethnics: City Hall; Big Labor; and Organized Religion. When these institutions began to buckle a bit, urban white ethnics feared that they would lose what was most important; the security of the neighborhood.

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[6] Charles F. Grosser, New Directions in Community Organization, (New York: Praeger, 1973), p. 197.

Where were the organizers? Some were burnt out by their experiences in civil rights, poverty programs, and anti-war work. Some were concerned about working with ethnics:

> Seeking support through community consensus is, however, not always feasible, for the organizer who follows such a course in some working-class white communities may find himself organizing a campaign to restrict services, maintain segregated facilities, or conduct reprisals against those perceived as encroaching on the community.[7]

In addition, ethnics were very wary of having organizers come into their communities. This stemmed somewhat from ethnics' historic antipathy toward social workers and also from ethnics' mistrust of social workers' awareness of the neighborhood concept. This left the ethnic priests, who had had extensive experience in working with these groups at the parish level, as the only organizers capable of working in these ethnic neighborhoods.

Ethnics were correct in mistrusting social workers' capability to work with them. Very little has been written in social work about working with ethnic groups.[8] Negative assessments recur in the literature on ethnics: "Community organization in many white communities often raises special program issues because of their antipathy to the minority poor and to welfare programs."[9] Such a jaundiced eye does not prepare the organizer for understanding ethnics. Rather, such assessments reinforce stereotypes and prejudices against ethnics. With a history of obviating differences. avoiding ethnic neighborhoods, and snubbing ethnic issues, community organization was and still is ill-prepared to meet the challenge of organizing in ethnic neighborhoods.

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[7] Grosser, p. 54.

[8] Giordano, p. 63.

[9] Grosser, p. 56.

Theoretical Framework

The response of some organizers to the crisis in urban ethnic neighborhoods was to alter some of the traditional models of community organization to fit the changed circumstances. In their view, these communities were deficient and did need re-vamping if they were to interface with institutions having impact on them. The strategies were encapsulated in such phrases: neighborhood revitalization, community development, mass-based organizing, or community democracy. The tactics were neo-Alinsky.[10] The result was short-term success and long-term failure. The reasons for failure were threefold: first, the negative assumptions about the deficiencies in the neighborhoods became self-fulfilling phrophesies; second, ethnicity and the vitality of the neighborhood in preserving cultures were not included in these models; and third, change became a given rather than a choice. Organizers espousing these approaches are in the process of re-vamping them or abandoning them altogether.

Other organizers responded to the crisis by re-examining the role of ethnic community to understand its historical function and its potential for the future. Murray Friedman admonishes change agents to remember: the importance of continuity and the need to bolster those institutions and traditions which hold things together while we go about the business of making necessary change."[11] Daniel F. Reidy continues: "One of the paradoxes in the urban ethnic organizing field is that successful organizing must build for the future without abandoning its base in the past."[12] The re-examination of the role of urban ethnic communities led to the assertion of the two important principles outlined above.

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[10] Alinsky's disciples and followers have over-emphasized in their practice some of Alinsky's views on neighborhoods: the elitist and/or ineffectual character of existing neighborhood organizations; the disaffected/disenfranchised reality of most neighborhood residents; and the vulnerability of institutions to mass-based organizing. The author does not challenge the merit of these views, but has found that over-emphasis on these Alinsky perceptions has caused organizers to ignore the broader reality, i.e., some neighborhood organizations are vital and viable, many neighborhood residents are not disaffected or disenfranchised, and institutions have great resiliency to withstand popular protest. Ignorance or disdain for the broader reality has caused organizers to build new organizations where existing ones would have worked, to snub so-called "neighborhood elitists," causing divisiveness and to alienate institutions by protesting on "sewer and street issues" such that movements were stifled before "bread and butter issues" were even raised.

The recognition of these two principles leads to new concerns when the organizer engages in self-assessment, neighborhood assessment, issue development, and definition of the task. In the self-assessment, the organizer must ponder his/her own cultural biases and attitudes toward such issues as melting pot theory, pluralism, etc. In the neighborhood assessment, the organizer must inquire about ethnic organizations, values held by the community and its capacity for change. Giordano identifive five issues of importance to urban ethnics: "economic insecurity; rapid social change; alienation and resentment; non-responsive and obsolete institutions; and the need for identity."[13] To that list, the author would add fear of loss of neighborhood and fear of a future without a social structure to protect the family. Finally, Reidy's definition of the task highlights the new emphasis on ethnicity: "Urban ethnic organizing is a process whereby an operative consciously utilizes ethnicity to bring about planned social change in an urban community."[14]

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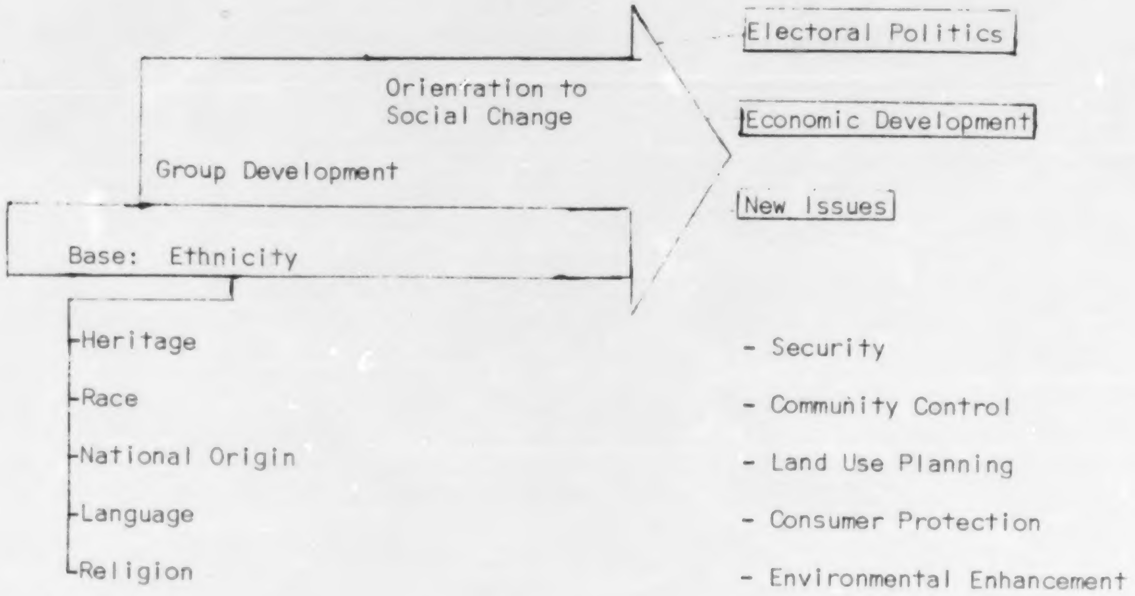
[11] Murray Friedman, "Middle America and the New Pluralism," in Overcoming Middle Class Rage, ed. Murray Friedman (Philadelphia: Westminster Press 1971), p. 29 in Giordano, p. 60.

[12] Daniel Reidy, "Urban Ethnic Organizing," Dissertation Summary, Cleveland, Ohio). p. 6.

[13] Giordano, p. 61.

[14] Reidy, p. 2.

Two models of urban ethnic organizing illustrate successful implementation of the new emphasis on ethnicity. The first, from Reidy's work, is outlined as follows:[15]


Electoral Politics
Orientration to Social Change
Economic Development
Group Development
New Issues
Base: Ethnicity
Heritage
Race
National Origin
Language
Religion
- Security
- Community Control
- Land Use Planning
- Consumer Protection
- Environmental Enhancement

Reidy's model, developed from his experiences at Catholic Community Action in Cleveland, combines both aspects of his definition of urban ethnic organizing: utilization of ethnicity and orientation to social change. Reidy points out five aspects of ethnicity of vital use to the organizer: heritage, race, national origin, language, and religion. To be effective in developing an urban ethnic constituency, the organizer must:

- work hard and have resources
- use symbols familiar to the ethnics to organize
- be able to give and take on his/her values, i.e., bend, but not buckle under pressure to adopt different values
- foster leadership from the community.[16]

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[15] Ibid., p. 2.

[16] Ibid., p. 5.

With regard to orientation to social change, Reidy identifies three areas of access for ethnic communities: local politics where they can be choosy about representation; economic development where they realize they can foster development favorable to their community; and new issues where concerns of community significance can be addressed. To be successful, the social change goals must be clear, future-oriented, community-wide in scope, that is those on which they are willing to fight and to join others to win.

Reidy's model concludes with maintenance factors essential to survival of the project. The organization must be run efficiently, have many issues identified, and be able to raise money.

The other model of successful urban organization is presented by Joseph Giordano, from his work in developing a planning structure within the New York City Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation Services. Giordano identifies important characteristics in working with urban ethnics:

> 1. Recognition and utilization of the ethnic differential in a community.
>
> 2. Each neighborhood may have different agendas, lifestyles, and perceptions of what they need.
>
> 3. Each neighborhood is at different levels of development in relationship to ethnicity, social class . . . . This demands of the worker an ability to diagnose a community and implement a variety of different methods of organizing.
>
> 4. The worker must focus on helping groups identify needs, provide them with expertise to arrive at options, and develop strategies that utilize the communities' inherent strengths and style.
>
> 5. The organizer must convey a respect for the ethnic client's lifestyle, self-identification. . .
>
> 6. There must be a consistent effort to develop bridges and linkages with other groups in order to develop larger constituencies.[17]

The Reidy model is essentially a grass-roots, group identity/community action program in its orientation, as befits its originator. The Giordano model represents an effort to help agencies and institutions reach out differentially to the widest range of constituents. Both models present challenging opportunities for the community organization method of social work to assess its current approaches to urban ethnics, to test these models in other settings, and to offer other models for organizing this constituency. The underlying assumption in both models is that community organizers recognize the vitality and viability of urban ethnic neighborhoods and want to help them retain their ethnicity while achieving planned change.

Ethnic Content

While the organizer-student cannot predict where he or she will be working, the notion of specializing in a specific area, e.g., Slavic-American peoples, has considerable merit for anyone working in community organization. Certainly,the organizer should have general knowledge of the anthropology of American urban peoples. The organizer needs to know U.S. social policy and its impact on ethnics for clear issue development. The organizer needs a background in human behavior and the ethnic family to deal with the individuals and groups to be faced. Finally, as a part of a broad background, an organizer needs a great deal of information about group process.

The essential beginning for any community organization course, module, or unit, inclusive of ethnicity, must be the incorporation of the two aforementioned principles into the student's being: one, the importance of recognizing the right of different groups to maintain their culture; and two, the need for organizers to understand and accept the cultural differences they encounter. The incorporation of these two principles must then be apparent at every step in the organizing process:

I. Self-Assessment - Cultural Biases/Social Attitudes

II. Neighborhood Assessment - Ethnic Organizations/Community Values/ Capacity for Change

III. Issue Development - Importance to Ethnic Constituents

IV. Definition of the Task - Ethnicity and Planned Social Change

V. Models - Reidy; Giordano; others

As to other ethnic content for the organizer, Reidy identifies five components of ethnicity of vital concern: heritage, race, national origin, language, and religion. He describes their utilization as follows:

> The cultural heritage of an ethnic group provides issues and opportunities to gather people together for collective activity . . . Race and national origin provide symbols useful for community organizing in terms of either pride at success or rage at mistreatment. Foreign languages or the street argot of the black community assemble people into groups for mutual aid and communication. Religious festivals, like street processions or revivals, provide opportunities for community organization, and churches are key sources of community cohesion in ethnic communities.[18]

Giordano emphasizes the importance of understanding ethnic group dynamics. He wants the organizer to pay attention to group identity, to reduce distance, and to redefine the community to take advantage of natural support systems.[19] This author stresses the importance of associational structures in the community, the values of the people, their modes of communication, and their cohesion.

As outlined here, this writer believes that ethnic content must permeate the entire curriculum. Its integration into community organization curriculum will be discussed in the next section.

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[18] Reidy, p. 3.

[19] Giordano, p. 63.

Plan of Integration

B.S.W. Level

While community organization is not taught as a separate course at the undergraduate level, B.S.W. candidates are expected to have a basic understanding of generic social work. Upon graduation, these beginning social workers find themselves in face-to-face social work situations. They are our "on-line" operators. The range of generic practice offers ample opportunity to include specific points on urban ethnic organizing. The fact that these graduates will be our representatives in the field dictates that we inculcate in them a belief in the two principles of ethnic organizing.

Most undergraduate programs focus upon three of four areas of direct relevance to community organization:

- Self Assessment
- Agency Profile
- Community Profile
- Working With A Group On A Community Problem

The self-assessment unit of a module should include a discussion of cultural biases and social attitudes toward such issues as the Melting Pot theory, etc. The agency profile should include a review of Giordano's model for agency support of ethnic identity and an analysis as to how well the agency to profiled conforms. The community assessment should include some background study of the ethnic organizations, community values, and their capacity for change. In working with a group on a community problem, the student ought to consider ethnicity and planned change as essential factors as in Reidy's definition.

M.S.W. Level

In the first year of the Master's program, community organization students acquire a broad range of knowledge about social work. This can be a very important year to the community organizer if the human behavior, social policy, and elective courses offer some analysis of urban ethnics. The specific community organization method learned in the first year includes:

- values proving impact on community organization practice;
- basic process skills essential to the organizer;
- a familiarity with the structure of a community;
- the ability to analyze a community and its leadership structure;
- the fundamentals of various models of community practice; and
- the techniques for developing a new organization.

The discussion of ethnicity and ethnic groups and their problems must permeate the entire curriculum. The unit on principles/values must include a discussion of the two principles of ethnic organizing. The basic process skills unit must include ways in which the organizer can maintain and enhance the group identity of ethnics. Source books such as Overcoming Middle Class Rage, ed. Murray Friedman (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), Promoting Social Justice in the Multigroup Society, ed. Jack Rothman (New York: Association Press, 1971) and papers published by the National Project on Ethnic America of the American Jewish Committee, offer vital resource materials for any process skills unit on ethnicity.

The unit on community structure and leadership structure should cover material on ethnic communities and associational patterns among ethnics. The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs works with, and has materials from, many different ethnic communities across the country. The more traditional models of community organization (Kramer and Specht, Brager, Grosser, etc.)[20]

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[20] Ralph M. Kramer and Harry Spect, Readings in Community Organization Practice, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1975.

George Brager and Harry Specht, Community Organizing, New York: Columbia University Press, 1973.

can be compared and contrasted with the models of Giordano and Reidy for their emphasis, or lack of it, on the ethnic component. The Giordano and Reidy models of urban ethnic organizing can be presented as new approaches to community practice, inclusive of the ethnic component. These models can serve as a reference point for the discussion of other models of community practice, inclusive of the ethnic variable. Finally, any discussion of developing a new organization ought to question when and where to start a new organization mindful of existing ethnic organizations and associational patterns in the community.

The second year of the Master's program offers more contact on models of community practice. However, most of the emphasis lies in three distinct areas: organizational change; organizational functioning; social planning. The additional unit on models of community practice can include a case study analysis of successful and unsuccessful models of urban ethnic organizing. The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs may be helpful in providing more examples of community paactice. Speakers, where possible, can be particularly effective in expanding this unit into a discussion of urban ethnic organizing.

The unit on organizational change could focus on how to help ethnic organizations interact more effectively with their envioonment. Speakers from the organizations already mentioned, as well as the works cited here, could enhance any discussion of ethnic organizations. The organizational functioning unit can explore the interorganizational relationships of ethnic groups which facilitate coalition-building. The National Project of Ethnic America has several monographs on coalition-building among ethnics. Lastly, the social planning component offers opportunities to develop new planning paradigms for urban ethnic communities. The paradigms of Kahn, Rothman,[21] etc., can be contrasted with the work done in the Twenty-one Neighborhoods Plan in Chicago. This work, a joint project with the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, stands as an outstanding example of community planning, inclusive of the ethnic component.

Some schools offer units on administration in their social work curriculum. These units can explore administrative and fund-raising concerns of ethnic organizations alterable within the scope of their ethnic purpose.

Methods of Teaching/Use of Aids

Three methods best convey ethnicity and ethnic group identity in the community organization curriculum:

- values/principles derived from theory of ethnicity;
- analysis of contemporary models of urban ethnic organizing; and
- a case study analysis of contemporary practice

The materials avaiable through this study will help teachers and students derive the principles/values for community organizers in ethnic settings. The models of Diordano and Reidy stand as the only community organization approaches which attempt to incorporate ethnicity into the essence of the organizing activity. Many case studies of contemporary practice are available for analysis as to their inclusion/exclusion of the ethnic variable and the impact of its utilization or under-utilization.

Two organizations are very helpful in providing case materials and new research on urban ethnics. The first, the National Center for Urban Ethnic

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[21] Alfred J. Kahn, Theory and Practice of Social Planning, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969.

Jack Rothman, Planning and Organizing for Social Change, New York: Columbia University Press, 1974.

Affairs, was founded by Msgr. Gino Baroni, a pioneer in the field. The Center supports a variety of community organizing initiatives in communities across the country. The Center also does planning and research for urban ethnic neighborhoods. Case studies are available from the Center. Ongoing projects of interest sponsored by the Center are located near most schools of social work.

The other organization of interest to teachers of community organization is the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity of the American Jewish Committee Project on Group Life and Ethnic America. Joseph Giordano, quoted often in this monograph, is the director of one component, the Project on Group Identity and Mental Health. The Institute publishes many working papers of interest to organizers.

The best source for visual aids on urban ethnics is Peeler Productions. Presently, Peeler Productions offers three films of interest: "My Ethnic Neighborhood: A Conversation With Barbara Mikulski"; "Ethnics and Politics: A Conversation With Michael Novak"; and "The Ethnic Response: Parish/Neighborhood Survival."

Evaluation

This new module has been tested in the author's community organization course. Student reception has been very favorable. The study of urban ethnic communities added a new dimension to the curriculum: the reality of the American way of life. Our experience is replete with individual and group initiatives which illustrate the importance of ethnic identity. What has been lacking is an analysis of how to incorporate that identity into the community organization method. This module offers teachers and students an opportunity to achieve new insights into the theory and practice of working with ethnics.

The author believes that the urban ethnic component has stimulated him to greater clarity in order to help students differentiate experiences. The ethnic component has also offered ample opportunities for inclusion of new materials making the course more comprehensive.

During the next year, the author will be implementing a new specialization in Community Organization/Administration. Three students will be placed at sites sponsored by the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs. These initiatives will provide new opportunities for inclusion of ethnicity in the curriculum.

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CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY AND ETHNICITY

by
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SOCIAL WELFARE POLICY AND ETHNICITY

Edward J. Ryle

Introduction

Some fifty years have passed since Edith Abbott, Dean of the School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, published Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problem: Selected Documents and Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records.[1] Today these works can be viewed both practically and symbolically. On a practical level, they bear witness to social work's concern for the immigrant, the foreign born, and their children as it was carried out by Edith and Grace Abbott, James Addams, and many less well known social workers and volunteers during the first decades of the twentieth century. Symbolically, they testify to a long period of neglect of the importance of immigrant roots and origins of ethnic Americans by Professional social work, a neglect witnessed by the failure of the profession, till very recently, to address ethnic issues and concerns at a level of scholarship and professionalism comparable to that of Edith Abbott.

Recently, however, there has been a marked rise in ethnic consciousness among White persons in the United States. This development followed chronologically and, perhaps, was occasioned by, social movements arising from Black and Chicano peoples and their assertions of their identity and rights. There have been similarities between these movements--and their specific issues, goals, and tactics--and those arising from White ethnic concerns. Writing in 1972, Glazer suggested that because of their similarity, it made little sense, in the United States, to distinguish between interethnic and interracial conflict.[2] Micahel Novak, on the other hand, has argued that the white ethnic is primarily looking for "respect" in a country whose Anglo-Saxon norms and mores ignore or look down on his distinctive cultural traits and values.[3] Martha Ozawa has suggested that, for purposes of social policy and social welfare programs, a strong case can be made for translating issues of nonwhite minorities to class issues, thus bringing white Americans into alliance with Blacks, Hispanics and Americans Indians for the sake of social change.[4] More recently, Stein and Hill have suggested that the new pluralism and advocacy of ethnicity spring from a desire to absolve oneself from the burdens of American history and responsibility for what has gone awry in the country, from a psychological need to heal past humiliations imposed on immigrants, and from a deep need to cure the sense of emptiness that has been the lot of modern man since the loss of religious feeling.[5]

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[1] In his American Immigration (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), p. 325, historian Maldwyn Jones describes these works of Edith Abbott as "invaluable source books."

It would be presumptuous to attempt to settle all these issues in this Module. We are still living through some of the questions entailed by them. Nevertheless, they cannot be ignored by social work education or social work practitioners. As a matter of fact, they have not been ignored, for the profession's recent literature contains a number of helpful articles on ethnicity.

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[2] Nathan Glazer, "Interethnic Conflict," Social Work 17 (May 1972): 5-6.

[3] Cf. Michael Novak, The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., Paperbacks Edition, 1973), passim.

[4] Martha Ozawa, "Social Welfare: The Minority Share," Social Work 17 (May 1972): 36-37.

[5] Howard Stein and Robert Hill, "The Limits of Ethnicity," American Scholar (Spring 1977): 188-89.

Moreover, the Standards for Accreditation of Graduate Schools of Social Work as well as a number of publications of the Council on Social Work Education have explicitly dealt with issues of racism, prejudice against minority groups, respect for cultural background and heritage, and the importance of individualized service for clients and client groups.[6]

As yet, however, though the situation is improving, social work has not allocated appropriate attention to the White ethnics. This is due to several factors, among which the following may be noted here: (1) the relative recency of the issue; (2) the lack of adequate empirical data about white ethnic Americans; (3) the limited state of theories of ethnicity at this time. This is not to gainsay what has been done to date, but to indicate the need for further social work study of and commitment to the genuine concerns of all Americans.

The purpose of this module is to present substantive content and methodological suggestions for relating ethnicity to the social welfare policy and services area of the social work curriculum. The CSWE Curriculum Policy Statement for the Master's Degree Program in Social Work says, in reference to this area, that "the major aims of study pertinent to social welfare policy and services are to prepare professionals to act as informed and competent practitioners in providing services, and as participants or leaders in efforts to achieve desirable change" and that "instruction should be directed toward developing both analytic skills and substantive knowledge, with a focus on the acquisition of competence required for the development, implementation, and change of social work policies and programs."[7]

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[6] Cf., for example, E. Aracelis Francis, ed., Black Task Force Report, (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1973), Kenji Murase, Asian American Task Force Report (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1973), and Angel P. Campos, Puerto Rican Curriculum Development Workshop: A Report (New York: Council on Social Work Education, 1974).

While some educators conceptualize social policy as an area of social work specialization, somewhat along methodological lines,[8] the present module envisions it as more concerned with substantive knowledge and conceptual analysis, leaving administrative, community organization, and change tactics issues to the module on social work practice. This module will be developed in three major parts: (1) a summary of the historical experience of the immigrants who were the parents and grandparents of today's ethnics; (2) a presentation of research data and impressionistic material about white ethnics today, especially as related to social policy; (3) a discussion of major social policy issues relating to white ethnic concerns.

Historical Background

The New Country

Oscar Handlin has pointed out that the story of the immigration of people from Europe to the United States was such a self evident aspect of "American development that it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that any question was raised as to the propriety of its continuance. The whole history of the continent has been one of immigration."[9] (The black experience of immigration, obviously, was radically different from that of the white.)

The century from 1815 to 1914 was the most significant for migrations from Europe to the United States. During these hundred years, some 32 million persons immigrated to the new country. They found a land which was already taking on a character of its own, different from that of England and of Europe itself.

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[7] "Curriculum Policy for the Master's Degree Program in Graduate Schools of Social Work," Social Work Education Reporter 17 (December 1969): 26R.

[8] Cf., for example, Harold Richman, "Social Welfare Policy as a Specialization in the Graduate Social Work Curriculum," Journal of Education for Social Work 6 (Spring 1970): 53-60 and Shankar A. Yelaja, "Social Policy Practice," Journal of Education for Social Work 11 (Fall 1975): 101-106.

[9] Oscar Handlin, Immigration as a Factor in American History (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1959), 1.

In this writer's opinion, four elements can be identified which would shape the attitude of the United States towards immigrants and, in varying degrees their children and grandchildren, especially those of southern and eastern European backgrounds; (1) a religious sense of mission or manifest destiny; (2) a white, Anglo-Saxon sense of superiority; (3) a sense or understanding of the new country as a haven for the poor and the oppressed; (4) the realities from one period to another of the economy and labor market. The interplay of these elements affected national attitudes and policies towards immigrants, led in the twentieth century to use of a quota system in immigration laws, and still influence the lives of white ethnics today.

The sense of religious mission, belief in providential care for the founders of the new country, went back to prerevolutionary days. Cotton Mather, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, set the tone for historians in later centuries when he wrote: "I write the Wonders of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, flying from the depravations of Europe to the American Strand."[10] His history of New England's founders was titled Magnalia Christi Americana.

The same sense of a special, divine mission, was operative at the Continental Congress. Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson were appointed to be a "Committee to prepare a device for a Seal of the United States of America." Franklin suggested a design which featured Moses; in the background would be shown the troops of Pharoah drowning in the Red Sea and the seal would bear the inscription: "Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God." Jefferson's proposal contained the children of Israel in the wilderness, led by a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night.[11]

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[10] Quoted in Martin Marty, Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience In America (New York: The Dial Press, 1970), 17.

Martin Marty caught something of the sense of mission and manifest destiny of the merging nation in the title he gave his history of Protestantism in the United States, Righteous Empire: The Protestant Experience in America. The new nation did move away from legal establishment of religion, which had been rather common in Europe, but, as Marty points out, "a *de facto* establishment grew where the old legal one had fallen."[12] For many of the early Americans and their leaders, the new country was the providential setting for the building of the Kingdom of God on earth.

Its Anglo-Saxon character was the second major factor that shaped the American attitudes to immigrants. There was, as Maldwyn Jones has detailed,[13] a fair amount of ethnic diversity in the emerging American nation, but the Census of 1790 revealed that the population was 84% English, 6.7% Scotch, 5.6% German, and 1.6% Irish. The first major American Church historian, Robert Baird, summed the matter up in 1844 when he wrote: "In a word, our national character is that of the Anglo-Saxon race" and that men should study "Saxon institutions, and Saxon laws and usages."[14] As to newcomers from continental Europe, the logical consequence of this stance was what Colin Greer calls "Anglo-conformity--the belief on the part of 'native Americans' that foreigners should give up their past cultural identity entirely and take on the social and cultural habits of their new homeland," a position says Greer, which is

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[11] Ibid., p. 24.

[12] Ibid., p. 44.

[13] Jones, pp. 39-63.

[14] Quoted in Marty, p. 23.

"the most prevalent ideology in American history."[15]

The third influence on American attitudes and policy regarding the foreign-born was the country's understanding of itself as a land of freedom and refuge for the oppressed of the Old World. George Washington expressed this sentiment in a response to Irish immigrants in December, 1783. He wrote: "The bosom of America is open to receive not only the Opulent and respectable Stranger, but the oppressed and persecuted of all Nations and Religions; whome we shall wellcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges if, by decency and propriety of conduct, they appear to merit the enjoyment."[16] Not all the Founding Fathers shared Washington's openness. Thomas Jefferson, for example, and George Mason had reservations about opening the doors wide to the potential corrupting influence of decadent Europe. The issue was debated at the Constitutional Convention and in 1790 in the First Congress. The ideal of America as an asylum for the oppressed won support of the majority in Congress and the Naturalization Act of 1790 required only a two-year residency period before immigrants could request citizenship. It was this ideal that poet Emma Lazarus caught in the words inscribed on the base of the Statue of Liberty:

> Give me you, tired, your poor,
> Your huddled masses yearning to breath free,
> The wretched refuse of your teeming shore
> Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
> I lift my lamp beside the golden door.[17]

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[15] Colin Greer, "Remembering Class: An Interpretation," idem., ed., Divided Society (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1974), p. 25.

[16] Quoted in Marty, p. 23.

[17] The full text is in Handlin, pp. 149-50. There is something of a condescending tone in the words that has not always been appreciated by immigrants, most of whom were anything but "wretched refuse" by any use of the words.

This basic principle of acceptance marked American immigration policy until 1921. The flow of immigrants increased or decreased according to economic and political trends in the United States and Europe, but assentially it continued to reflect a national acceptance, blemished, at times, by fear or rejection of persons perceived as different, foreign, radical, or inferior, but acceptance in principle nonetheless.

Economic factors constituted a fourth factor in shaping the American attitude toward immigrants. As the American Empire expanded westward and as industry developed in the cities of the East, the immigrants supplied much of both the labor force and inventive skills that helped the new country prosper. In the East the Irish, German, Scandinavian, and Italian immigrants built roads, canals, railroads, and public works projects. Mexican and Chinese immigrants carried out similar work in the West. By 1900, says Wilson, "the bulk of the employees in each of the leading American industries was of foreign origin, most of them being Italians, Slavs, Russian Jews, Greeks, Portuguese, or French Canadians."[18]

The Impact of immigration on the American economy and level of salaries for workers was a controversial issue through the nineteenth century and into the twentieth. In 1902 Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor wrote that:

> The strength of this country is in the intelligence and prosperity of our working people. But both the intelligence and prosperity of our working people are endangered by the present immigration. Cheap labor, ignorant labor, takes our jobs and cuts our wages.
>
> The fittest survive; that is, those that fit the conditions best. But it is the economically weak, not the economically

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[18] Jones, p. 312.

> strong, that fit the conditions of the labor market. They fit best because they can be got to work cheapest.[19]

The view that immigrants depressed wages was a common one, one that led the labor movement in the first part of the twentieth century to work actively for restrictive immigration laws. Against this view, however, Maldwyn Jones asserts, on the basis of extensive research, that there is no hard evidence that "the long-range effect of immigration has been to lower the wage scale and thus depress the American standard of living" and that "it is likewise incorrect to believe that immigration has, over any prolonged period, added appreciably to the number of the unemployed."[20]

The interplay of the religious self-understanding of the American people, their white, Anglo-Saxon character, their understanding of the country as a refuge for the oppressed and economic and employment trends influenced both official public policy and national attitudes of the average citizen toward the immigrants and their descendents. At the national level, immigration laws, becoming severely restrictive in 1921 and liberal again in 1965, were the major expression of public social policy. On a less formal level, prejudice and acceptance, job discrimination and settlement houses reflected the varying, shifting attitudes of the "native Americans" toward the newcomers and their children and grandchildren.

Restrictive legislation

The antecedents of the immigration legislation of 1921 can be seen in microcosm in the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. Approximately 300,000 Chinese had come to the West coast, primarily California, between 1850 and 1882. At first, they were reasonably well accepted since they were willing to do menial, poorly paid work, and provided labor for building the Central Pacific Railroad. The Depression of 1873 and subsequent poor economic conditions, the belief that the Chinese were a servile class which threatened employment opportunities for White Americans, and the general opinion that they were an unassimilable group combined to influence Congressional passage of the Act of 1882 which suspended Chinese immigration for ten years, forbade the naturalization of Chinese, and placed other restrictions upon them.[21]

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[19] Quoted in Handlin, p. 186.

[20] Jones, pp. 312-13.

Similar alarm led to the first national quota system for immigrants. Through most of the nineteenth century most immigrants were from Northwestern Europe--English, Irish, German, and Scandinavian. But in the 1890's, the source changed dramatically to Southern and Eastern Europe. These new immigrants, who had represented only 7.2% of the total in the 1870's and 18.3% in the 80's, jumped to 51.9% in the 1890's and 70.8% in the first decade of the twentieth century.[22]

The migrants from Italy, Poland, Russia, and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, brought with them linguistic, cultural, and religious traits that were perceived by "native Americans" as vastly different from their predecessors. In 1894 concern of the New England old-stock at the influx of Southern and Eastern Europeans led to formation of the Immigration Restriction League, which gave leadership to restrictionist efforts for the next twenty-five years. Prescott F. Hall and his associates in founding the League put the question to their country, whether it was "to be people by British, German and Scandinavian stock, historically free, energetic, progressive, or by Slav, Latin and Asiatic races, historically down-trodden, atavistic, and stagnant."[23]

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[21] Ibid., pp. 248-50.

[22] Cf. Robert A. Divine, American Immigration Policy, 1924-1952 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), Appendix A, p. 192. Political recognition of the right to immigrate by southern and eastern European countries, breakup of the old peasant economies, and, for Russian Jews, desire to escape religious persecution were some of the factors at work in Europe that affected the shift in sources of immigrants. Cf. Jones, pp. 195-204.

The assumption here about the native superiority of the older as against the more recent immigrants influenced to a significant degree the most important study of immigration in perhaps, the history of the United States. In 1907 Congress set up the Immigration Commission under Senator William Dillingham. Its report, forty-two volumes in length, tended to view the "old immigrants" as industrious, hard working people who had mingled well with and been quickly assimilated by "native Americans". The "new immigrants," on the other hand, Southern and Eastern Europeans, were presumed to be unskilled laborers who resisted assimilation.

The myths of the "native American," and the "melting pot" operated in a normative fashion to influence the drive for restrictionist immigration legislation. Economic problems and a protectionist concern for the American workingman gave added impetus to the drive and in 1921 a quota system was adopted for the first time in the nation's history. In 1924 the system was strengthened with a view toward maintaining the racial preponderance of the "native American." The national-origins quota, as mandated by the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, provided that effective July, 1929 the ceiling for immigrants from countries outside the Western hemisphere would be 154,300, allocated among eligible countries with the effect of favoring immigration from Northwest Europe to that from Southeast in a ratio of about five to one. Too, the 1924 legislation excluded Japanese immigration, rejecting the suggestion of Secretary of State Hughes that Japan be given a quota of 150 immigrants per year.[24]

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[23] Quoted in Jones, p. 259.

[24] Divine, pp. 22-23.

News of the action was received with great resentment by the people of Japan.

Writing in the Encyclopedia of Social Work, Abba Schwartz sums up the significance of the quota system succinctly and directly:

> The immigration quota laws marked a turning point in the evolution of American immigration policy. They not only affected quantitative controls over immigration--and few persons quarreled with this objective--but, more important, they introduced an additional qualitative control, the national-origins concept, which purposefully discriminated among applicants for admission to the United States on the basis of race and national origin. The historical intent of the national origins quota-system was a deliberate and unconcealed attempt to preserve the supposed ethnic composition of the population at the expense of immigration from eastern and southern Europe. The congressional debates leave no doubt of the conviction of those who authored this legislation that immigrants from eastern and southern Europe were inferior to those from northern and western Europe and were generally undesirable as immigrants.[25]

The national-origins quota system was reaffirmed in 1952 by the McCarran-Walter Act, which was passed over President Truman's veto. It was not until 1965 that the system was abolished in favor of a system that provided for admission of 170,000 immigrants per year from non-Western hemisphere countries on the basis of personal qualities for example, special skills needed in the United States, family relationships to people in the U.S., and the need for political or other asylum.[26]

The immigrant experience in the United States

The history of public policy attempts to restrict immigration to the United States and to give preferential treatment to people from northern and western Europe is only one part, although an essential one, of the immigrant experience in the United States. It needs to be completed by at least a summary account of the lives the various immigrant groups found in the New World and of the efforts of social work to help the immigrants. Such an account can give additional understanding of policy issues and ethnicity today. Too, it will indicate further the interplay of religious, Anglo-Saxon white, assimilationist, and economic factors that affected the experience of the immigrants and, to a certain extent, continue to affect their children and grandchildren.

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[25] Abba P. Schwartz, "Foreign Born, Immigration of," Encyclopedia of Social Work, 2 vols. (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1971), 1:456.

[26] Ibid., 458.

The first large volume of immigrants followed the end of the War of 1812. It ran till the middle of the 1860's and was primarily composed of Irish and Germans, with lesser numbers of English. From 1851 to 1860, for example, some 950,000 Germans, 915,000 Irish, and 425,000 persons from England, Wales, and Scotland landed on American shores. In assessing the impact of these newcomers on the United States it should be noted that the five million who arrived between 1815 and 1860 numbered more than the entire population of the new country at the time of the census of 1790 and that the three million who came between 1845 and 1854 came to a country of only twenty million people.[27]

The Irish immigrants tended to be from rural backgrounds, often small farmholders or laborers. With little skill or money, they tended to settle in states where jobs were available, the majority living in cities in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the New England states. German immigrants of this period were also primarily peasants, although there was an assortment of skilled artisans. They tended to be more widely spread through the new country, with relatively few in New England and over half in the upper Mississippi and Ohio valleys. The British immigrants blended in more easily than the Irish and Germans. Too, they tended to be wealthier and more skilled, representing a wider distribution of crafts than the Germans, and they tended to spread more widely across the country.

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[27] Jones, p. 94.

Poverty in this period was disproportionately found among the immigrants. They generally had the poorest jobs when they could find work. In Boston, from 1845-1860 one-half to two-thirds of those receiving poor relief were foreign-born while in New York some 86 per cent were in 1860.[28] In part because of the influx of immigrants, seaboard cities along the Atlantic developed almshouses which were, in large part, free hopitals that aided the immigrants. Something of the humanitarianism that was part of America's response to the immigrants can be seen in the 1848 Report of the Trustees for the Poor of Baltimire City and County:

> The tide of immigration has--as was reasonable to be expected--brought with it much poverty as well as disease, and as a consequence has tended to increase the inmates of charitable public institutions. It is, however, a pleasant reflection to the philanthropist that the poor emigrant, borne down by privation and disease, may find on the shores of God's favored land a charitable roof under which he may recover his wonted physical energy.[29]

Reflected, too, in these words is the understanding of America as the specifically blessed Kingdom of God in the New World, a primarily Protestant concept that was, in other, and less benign settings, to influence anti-Catholic attitudes of the pre-Civil War period.[30] The large numbers of Catholics among the Irish and German immigrants made it relatively easy to equate Romanism with pauperism, crime, and dominance by the Pope. Growing political power of the immigrants, the Irish, for example, in New York city, added to feelings of resentment on the part of "native Americans."

The immigrants, themselves, did not rely exclusively on outsiders for help. Mutual aid societies, benevolent associations, and church or parish organizations sought both to assist their fellow Germans or Irish and to preserve cultural patterns from the old country. The British, more at home in the new country, did not experience the need for such help to the same extent.

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[28] Ibid., p. 133.

[29] Quoted in Blanch Col[illegible], Perspectives in Public Welfare (Washington, D.C." U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969), 23.

[30] Cf. Jones, 148-52..

After the Civil War, British, German, and Irish immigration resumed at levels not too different from prewar levels while Scandinavian immigration increased significantly. From 1871 to 1880 Norway and Swedan sent some 210,000 persons to the United States and the following decade saw the number reach 570,000. The Scandinavians were generally small farm owners fleeing the crisis brought about by crop failures of the 1860's. In the new country they tended to settle in the Middle West, often taking up farming or settling in rural areas.

As noted above,[31] the sources of immigration changed significantly in the 1890's. Italy, which had seen some 50,000 migrate to the United States between 1871 and 1880, saw almost one million more move in the next two decades, and two million between 1901 and 1910. Austria-Hungary's totals reached 592,000 in the 1890's and over two million in the first decade of the twentieth century. Poles, Jews, Croats, Serbs, Magyars--a host of varied cultures and religious traditions were represented by these new immigrants. Russia, too, contributed to the diversity. Religious persecution led Russian Jews to seek freedom in the United States. Poles, Lithuanians, and Finns joined them. In the 1890's some half million Russians migrated to the United States and in the period from 1901 to 1910 the number reached 1,597,000.

These new immigrants were viewed by the native Americans as very different from and inferior to their British, German, Irish, and Scandinavian predecessors.

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[31] Supra, 7-8.

The large numbers of Jews among them led to an increase in anti-Semitism. The greater cultural differences between immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe on the one hand, and both native Americans and immigrants from Northern and Western Europe, contributed to the growing alarm that led to restrictive immigration quotas. The tendency of the newcomers to concentrate in cities, at a time when the United States was still a predominantly rural country, made them more conspicuous in the public eye. There was, however, survival value for the Jews, Italians, Poles, and other groups in forming their own urban neighborhoods. The sense of community, of Gemeinschaft, they had known in the Old World could be preserved. Common language and culture helped them maintain a sense of identity and social location in the face of the culture shock, poverty, prejudice, and exploitation they often had to face. Sharing resources and concerns also helped them to develop organizations to meet their own needs, without relying on "outsiders," and to help relatives and friends in the Old Country come to the United States.

A good example of the assistance provided immigrants was the work carried out by the Council of Jewish Women, which organized a committee on immigrant aid in 1904. It had representatives in 275 cities and women at each port of entry to welcome Jewish women and girls travelling alone. The leaflets distributed to the new arrivals gave a description of the services offered:

> The Council of Jewish Women greets and welcomes all Jewish girls and women and stands ready to give them friendly help, advice, or information in whatever way is needed. For this purpose a woman is stationed in every port of landing. We beg those who wish or need advice, information, or help to inquire immediately upon landing for the Council of Jewish Women. After landing, the council will be glad to assist girls to classes in English or in industrial training; to work, board, and lodging; to pleasant social evenings, amusement, and recreation, as well as to give aid and

advice in sickness, trouble, or danger.[32]

Similar leaflets were also distributed at European ports and to Russia by immigrants already in the United States.

Similar programs were carried out by groups such as the Y.M.C.A., church organizations, and agencies set up specifically to assist the immigrants. There was, however, real variation in their attitudes toward the newcomers. Alvin Kogut has analyzed major settlement houses in New York, Chicago, and Boston famous for their service to immigrants between 1890 and 1914.[33] In Hull House and Chicago Commons he finds respect for cultural pluralism, immigrant rights, and the importance of the neighborhood. In Boston, South End House had, at best, an ambivalent attitude to the immigrants, stressing assimilation and Americanization and providing few services and programs suited to the immigrants' needs. Denison House, also in Boston, provided programs to help immigrants learn the laws and customs of the new country and was concerned about protecting their rights. It did, however, lean to an assimilationist, rather than cultural pluralism, stance. In New York the University Settlement was marked by both strong emphasis on Americanization and pragmatic concern for the impact of the environment on the immigrant. Lectures and courses in English went along with similar offerings on Jewish interests and customs. The Henry Street Settlement combined the concept of the melting pot with programs to keep alive the cultural and artistic heritage of immigrants and worked actively to offer courses, recreational activities, and social clubs. It also engaged in advocacy to prevent exploitation of the newcomers. Kogut sums up the settlement house experience with the immigrant by pointing out that "there were no landmarks for the beginning social workers in this confusing and changing context. A sizable number of them, participating in a reform movement tinged with racism and nativism, displayed an interest in and a sympathy for the national minorities."[34]

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[32] U.S. Congress, Senate, Immigration Commission, Reports of the Immigration Commission, Statements and Recommendations Submitted by Societies and Organizations Interested in the Subject of Immigration (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), p. 37. The statements in this volume of the Dillingham Report give a good cross section of views of citizens of the U.S. toward immigrants early in this century.

[33] Cf. Alvin Kogut, "The Settlements and Ethnicity," Social Work 17 (May 1972): 22-31.

At the level of social agency policy, as distinct from broader public policy, the same uncertainty and apprehension that led Congress to adopt restrictive immigration laws characterized services to the newcomers from Southern and Eastern Europe. The desire to serve was sincere. But along with it went traces of the Protestant Ethic, emphasis on the melting pot, and fear that immigrants would lower the standard of living of the American working man by accepting lower wages.

The White Ethnics Today

Census and Research Data

Today the white ethnic movement is centered in large part around the children and grandchildren of the third great immigrant wave, the men and women from Southern and Eastern Europe who were seen as so different by Americans at the turn of the century and in the first decades of the present century. How have they fared in their adopted country, i.e., those who stayed rather than return to their mother countries?[35]

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[34] Ibid., 31.

[35] Hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Europe returned to the Old Country after making the money they had sought in the United States, or because of unemployment. or out of a desire to settle down at home again and raise a family. Beteeen 1910 and 1914, 5,174,701 immigrants arrived in the U.S. and 1,442,892 departed for Europe, Canada, or other areas. Cf. Theodore Saloutos, "Exodus U.S.A.," in Greer, ed., pp. 134-60.

While empirical data is rather lacking as to how the white ethnic is "making it" in America, there are some sources of data available which offer some approaches to answering the question. Too, they provide some indication of relevant data for public policy exploration and direction. But before presenting some of the available information, it may be of value to pause for a moment and present a definition of ethnicity which does justice to the complexities of the history that has been reviewed, a definition which, hopefully, will make for clarity in the move from past, through present, to policy discussion to affect the future.

Ethnicity, as understood here, has to do with the concept of a sociocultural group having a unique identity, historically derived, persisting over several generations, and concerned with transmission of its cultural identity to its children.[36] This conceptualization, as Richard Kolm has noted, "means that, like all societies, ethnic groups wish to maintain their unique ways and styles of life and their own ways of raising their children, not because they reject other patterns as intrinsically unsuitable, but simply because their patterns are the only ones they know intimately and can apply with self-confidence. . . This does not mean that they cannot accept modifications and changes, but that they wish to make them on their own, both with regard to when and to how fast."[37]

Operative here is a focus on family and group, on the communal rather than the corporate, on the familiar rather than the experimental or innovative, on the concrete rather than the abstract. Ethnicity has to do with such basic realities as identity, culture, the nationality of my parents, the neighborhood in which I grew up--and in which I may still live--the religion I profess, the language my parents or grandparents spoke. It is interesting to note that in 1972, seventy-six percent of the population of the United States was able to name one country from which its ancestors came, in 1973 the figure was 79 per cent.[38]

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[36] Cf. Richard Kolm, "Ethnicity and the Ethnic Family in American Social Work," A paper presented at the Conference on The American Family: The Continuing Impact of Ethnicity, held at the School of Social Service, the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., April 4th and 5th, 1977.

[37] Ibid., 25.

Beyond this initial understanding of ethnicity, there is a further one in-so-far as the American society as a whole can be understood. Andrew Greely has suggested the model of America as "a society of ethnic groups, each group a collectivity based on presumed common origin, which shapes to some extent the attitudes and behaviors of those who share that origin, and with which certain people may freely choose to identify at certain times of their lives."[39] This formulation brings out an element of choice, voluntariness, not present in the ones above. The option suggested by Greely consists in the fact that people can and do reject their ethnic heritage. In principle, as he points out, though with certain reservations for Blacks and Jews, "no one can be compelled to be an ethnic either by members of his own group or by members of any other group."[40] It should be noted, too, that ethnicity is one of many identifications available to a person, other obvious ones being family membership, occupation, sex, religion, locality, age, etc.

To the extent that the Census Bureau publishes data about the ethnic origin of the people of the United States, the following table gives examples of some of the major white, ethnic groups in 1973:

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[38] William McCready, "Social Utilities in a Pluralistic Society," Pastora San Juan Cafferty and Leon Chastang, eds., The Diverse Society: Implications for Social Policy (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Social Workers, 1976), 15.

[39] Andrew Greely, "Why Study Ethnicity?" Cafferty and Chastang, 8.

[40] Ibid., 9.

Table 1: Population by Ethnic Origin and Median Family Income

	No. (1000s)	Percent	Median Family Income
Total Population	206,295	100.0	$11,233
English	26,593	12.5	12,278
French	3,939	2.0	10,877
German	20,517	9.9	12,217
Irish	12,240	5.7	11,518
Italian	7,101	3.3	12,520
Polish	3,686	1.7	13,069
Russian	1,747	.8	14,627

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1976 (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1976), Table 41, p. 34.

It would, however, be using the term 'ethnic' in a wider sense than it is ordinarily employed in current social policy discussions to extend it to all members of these groups. Many think of themselves simply as Americans and do not claim a hyphenated identity. For the social worker in the 1970's, ethnic often designates the Polish, Italians, Greeks, Hungarians, and Slovaks. Often, too, Jewish people are included. The usage of the term as applied to these groups is, perhaps, more pragmatic than scientific, since Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians can just as logically be designated as ethnic groups, but it is common.

Some further idea of the ethnic diversity of the United States can be developed on the basis of the following table, which lists the number of persons in the United States who were foreign born or native born of foreign or mixed stock as of 1970:

Table 2: Foreign Stock by Country of Origin: 1970
(No. in 1000's)

Country	Foreign Born	Native of Foreign of Mixed Parentage
United Kingdom	686	1,779
Poland	548	1,826
Germany	833	2,789
Hungary	183	420
Greece	177	257
Italy	1,009	3,232
Ireland	251	1,199
Czechoslovakia	161	599

SOURCE: U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Table 43, p. 35.

This table as the previous, reflects Census Bureau data and is helpful for broad patterns. It odes not, however, give as detailed information as might be desired for social policy purposes. Nor does it include information on religious affiliation, which is often closely linked with ethnic identity. Research carried out at the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Chicago and the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan has gone beyond census data in attempting to learn more about ethnic groups in the United States. The following paragraphs will present some of the highlights of this research.

Social policy has traditionally been concerned with income, jobs, and education. The following table indicates differences from national averages of major white ethnic groups in metropolitan regions outside the South:

Table 3

Table 3: Differences from National Averages in Family Income, Occupational Status, and educational Achievement of White Ethnic Groups in Metropolitan Regions outside the South
1974

Ethnic Group	Gross Differences		
	Family Income	Occupational Prestige	Education Level
British Protestants	$ 259	3.1	0.8
Irish Catholics	2,170	2.4	0.4
German Protestants	- 425	0.9	0.0
German Catholics	1,999	1.5	-0.3
"American" Protestants	- 233	-1.9	-0.4
Polish Catholics	813	-2.2	-0.5
Scandinavian Protestants	- 913	-0.6	-0.7
Slavic Catholics	900	-3.9	-0.9
French Catholics	465	-3.0	-0.9
Italian Catholics	1,254	-3.1	-0.9
Jews	2,295	6.6	2.0
Averages for the Regions	$10,623	41.8	12.0

SOURCE: Andrew M. Greeley, The American Catholic, A Social Portrait, (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), Tables 3.3B, 3.4B, 3.5B, 3.6B and related text, pp. 53-65.

Table 3 indicates that a certain caution is needed in generalizing about how major ethnic groups in the United States are, in fact, doing. Granted that averages can cover a significant range of differences, granted, too, that social work should become more knowledgeable about and sensitive to the concerns and stresses of these ethnic Americans, the research does indicate, on balance, that many white ethnics are doing quite well on a number of important social indicators. Southern and Eastern European ethnic groups are doing better than the average in family income, though somewhat behind in occupational prestige and educational level. The Jewish people, as is well known, do very well on all three indices, but this should not lead one to lose sight of the many poor and working class Jews who are facing the same economic and

and housing problems other ethnic groups are attempting to cope with.[41]

Table 4 offers a perspective on changes within religio-ethnic groups over time:

Table 4: Occupation, Education, and Income of White Religio-Ethnic Groups in the 1950s and 1960s and Change between Decades

Group	Percent Professional or Managerial			Percent College Attendance			Mean Income in Dollars		
	50s	60s	Change	50s	60s	Change	50s	60s	Change
Protestants									
British	35	37	2	32	37	5	6246	8512	2266
Irish	19	25	7	25	24	-1	5110	7854	2434
German	24	31	7	19	27	8	5370	8146	2776
Scndvian.	23	33	10	19	33	14	5326	8963	3637
Catholics									
Irish	33	40	7	22	29	7	5882	8907	2025
German	17	30	13	11	25	14	5571	8615	2044
Italian	17	30	13	9	18	9	5263	8945	3622
Polish	20	20	0	29	18	9 (sic)	5256	8317	2061
Jews	46	58	2	26	50	24	6960	10940	3980
Natl. Avrg.	24	28	4	19	24	5	5050	7812	2762

SOURCE: Andrew M. Greeley, Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), Table 9, p. 78.

Again, as in Table 3, the picture of Jewish success on a number of important indices is clear. The Italians have made striking progress in all three areas, while the Polish have advanced in college attendance and income level. One could wonder if their failure to advance professionally or in managerial occupations represents a clue to the discrimination in executive suites that some scholars have noted.[42]

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[41] Cf. Paul Cowan, "Jews without Money Revisited," Greer, ed., 359-63.

Further survey research, based on national samples, can be reviewed in the sources cited for Tables 3 and 4. Too, the modules which deal with ethnicity and the Person in Society Sequence and with Community Organization practice also contain information about ethnics groups and how they are faring in contemporary United States. There are, however, some further items of particular research as well as impressions based on ethnic experience that it may be helpful to present before moving to discussion of the major social policy issues relevant to white ethnics today.

In The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, Michael Novak offers a number of summary observations about White ethnics that give more of the "feel" of ethnicity than the survey research presented above. The following examples are worth noting here:

> By 1985, only 14 percent of Americans will be graduated from four-year colleges . . . .
>
> Only one out of four high-school seniors (males) desires blue-collar work. But almost half of the jobs in our economy are blue-collar. Much frustration . . . .
>
> About half of Irish, Polish, and Italian households are in blue-collar work . . . .
>
> Chicago has more Poles than any city in the world, including Warsaw . . .

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[42] Andrew Greeley wrote recently that "if there is any ethnic militancy at all, it is to be found not in the vast middle and lower reaches of income and occupational prestige but rather among the elite, those college-educated and graduate-school-educated ethnics who bump up against the residual nativism still present in the upper strata of American society." "The Ethnic Miracle," The Public Interest 45 (Fall 1976): 36. A study in Chicago indicated that "of the 1341 members of top management or boards of directors of the 106 largest corporations in Chicago . . . 0.1 percent of the directors are Latin, 0.3 percent are Poles, 0.4 percent are blacks, and 1.9 percent are Italians. These groups together constitute 34 percent of the metropolitan population." Quoted in "To Build a New America," Arnold Doshefsy, ed., Ethnic Identity in Society (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Co., 1976): 212.

> One out of six persons in New York is Italian. Only 14 of 165 deans in the City College system are Italian . . . .
>
> The life of professors, businessmen on expense accounts, and journalists--mobile swift, exciting (in the view of those who must stay at home)--supplies the image of what "modernity" is supposed to mean. It hasn't arrived yet for most Americans, except by report. They sit watching their TV while life passes by. From time to time, as a white railroad worker in Chicago put it: "Some young punk screams at me on television he's going to burn my house down."[43]
>
> Working-class families have no bright or altered future to look forward to. Day after day is the same. Their husbands almost always reach an earnings plateau at about age thirty-five--just when the first children begin to cost the family more for recreation, clothes, and school, and just when the family has probably acquired a home of their own. Their economic future cannot get better. It might get worse. Realistically they can nourish none of the confidence of the middle class that promotions or new careers will make the future more exciting.[44]

Novak follows up on those and further examples of the condition of white, blue-collar ethnics by expressing regret that the liberal intellectual in the United States has lacked "that sympathy for PIGS which simple human feeling might have prodded intelligence to muster, that same sympathy which the educated find so easy to conjure up for black culture, Chicano culture, Indian culture, and other cultures of the poor" and wonders why "the educated classes find it so difficult to want to understand the man who drives a beer truck, or the fellow with a helmet working on a site across the street with plumbers and electricians, while their sensitivities race easily to Mississippi or even Bed-Stuyvesant?"[45] It may be that the liberal imagination is more sensitive now than when Novak wrote in 1971. The question, however, is a helpful one for the social worker who tries to take the concept of acceptance seriously.

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[43] Novak, 24-26.

[44] Ibid., 28-29.

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[45] Ibid., 69.

"The neighborhood" is an important concept in acquiring a "feel" for ethnicity. As William McCready has noted, "not all neighborhoods are ethnic communities, and not all ethnics live in neighborhoods" but the idea of neighborhood is an important one for white ethnics and does have implications for social policy.[46] Studies of residential segregation indicate a continuing tendency for white, ethnic groups to live in relatively homogeneous neighborhoods in the older industrial cities of the Northeast and Great Lakes region.[47] Andrew Greely has written that:

> When neighborhood loyalty, already something quite primordial, is reinforced by a common religion and sense of common ethnic origins, the commitment to the neighborhood can become fierce and passionate indeed. Its streets, its markets, its meeting places, its friendships, its accepted patterns of behavior, its customs, its divisions, even its factional feuds provide a context for life that many of its citizens are most reluctant to give up.[48]

Barbara Mikulski catches some of the flavor of the Southern or Eastern European ethnic neighborhood and their value to the immigrants and their children in the following:

> For our own protection, we formed our own institutions and organizations and clung together in our new neighborhoods. We created communities like "Little Italy" and "Polish Hill." The ethnic parish church and the fraternal organizations like the Polish Women's Alliance and the Sons of Italy became the focal points of our culture.
>
> These neighborhoods were genuine "urban villages." Warmth, charm and zesty communal spirit were their characteristics. People knew each other. This was true not only of relatives and friends but of the grocer, politician and priest. The people were proud, industrious and ambitions. All they wanted was a chance to "make it"

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[46] McCready, 16.

[47] Cf. Perry L. Week, The White Ethnic Movement and Ethnic Politics (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1973), pp. 7-9 and Nathan Kantrowitz, "New York Segregation: Implications for Social Policy," Cafferty and Chestang, eds., 28-40.

[48] Andrew Greeley, Why Can't They Be Like Us? (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1971), 100.

in America.[49]

Today the neighborhood is still a major concern for the white ethnic. It is also a major public policy issue that has not been resolved.

Perhaps this section on white ethnics today can be summed up in the following observations:

1. Ethnicity operates at both personal and communal levels as a means of personal and group identification. In its operation, it functions at both conscious and relatively unconscious and taken-for-granted levels.
2. White ethnic groups contain a good deal of internal differences in economic, educational, and occupational levels, but in general compare favorably with both national means and means for native white groups in success in these areas.
3. There are important white ethnic groups, many of them including working class, for whom issues of ethnic identity, pride, and culture are of concern. These groups, too, are often concerned about preservation of their neighborhoods and neighborhood services.
4. These groups are, as shall be seen below, concerned with many of the same public policy and social justice questions preoccupying blacks and liberals.

Social Policy and Ethnicity

Social policy and ethnic policy statements

Social policy is the subject of a variety of disciplines and professions. Social work, political science, law, philosophy, and economics all deal with it from one or another perspective. It is, moreover, a subject capable of a variety of definitions.[50] David Gil has argued for a broad definition, one that goes beyond linking social policy too closely to social services and social welfare policy, and defined social policies as those which "deliberately pertain to the quality of life and to the circumstances of living in society, and to intra-societal relationships among individuals, groups, and society as a whole."[51] This definition recognizes that economic, housing, and educational policies, for example, have definite impact on the quality of life and intra-societal relationships of persons in a society. It is broad enough to include policy legislated by Congress or a state legislature as well as that adopted by a social agency or informal neighborhood organization. As developed by Gil, social policy has to do with three basic societal processes:

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[49] Barbara Mikulski, "Who Speaks for Ethnic America?" Greer, ed., 356.

1. resource development, concerned with societal decisions about the development and sharing of the material and symbolic goods produced and services developed in the society;
2. status allocation, which has to do with the organization and assignment of the tasks and labor required to develop and distribute the society's life-sustaining and life-enhancing goods and services and to assure its survival;
3. rights distribution, which allocates to individuals and groups specific rights to goods, services, and resources through general entitlements, task specific rewards, and general and specific constraints.[52]

These processes are interlinked. It is, therefore, important to be sensitive to the possibility of unintended or undesired change in one area if policy change is attempted in another.

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[50] Cf. David G. Gil, Unravelling Social Policy (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1973), pp. 3-10 for a discussion of some of the definitions suggested by major authors in the broad fields of social policy and social welfare. It is the present author's belief that often the concept of social policy is best grasped through experience with its use in a wide range of contexts. Such experience provides an awareness that social policy is a shifting concept that is open to extensive connotations.

[51] Ibid., 13.

[52] Cf. Gil, 15-24.

In this section, social policy will be understood in the broad sense defined by Gil. It is this meaning that has been assumed in the previous sections. There will, however, be special attention here to social welfare policy as it is of import for social work.

It was noted above, in the brief discussion of the rise of white, ethnic consciousness, that a variety of factors have been suggested to identify and explain the resurgence of ethnicity of the late 60's and its continuance well into the 70's. Some authors suggest that ethnicity is a mask for what are really class issues. Others hold that it is an attempt to maintain a sense of identity and self-worth in a WASP culture that looks down especially on ethnics of Southern and Eastern European backgrounds. Still others view it as a defensive response to pressures from Black and/or Hispanic groups attempting to improve their conditions. Others yet view it as a way of being American in a country in which old world frames of reference are no longer adequate or as a natural source of identity that can be voluntarily affirmed and deepened. Research around these views is needed.[53] Pending such research, and the answers it may provide, there are some social policy questions that can be discussed and, perhaps, answered with some confidence. An approach to the issues can be developed by presenting and commenting on policy programs recently set out by major ethnic groups.

In its statement "To Build a New America" EMPAC (the Ethnic Millions Political Action Committee) proclaimed that:

> Ethnicity is a powerful emotional force in American life, of enormous creativity. It believes that ethnicity entails a

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[53] Cf. the companion Module on Research and Social Work Education in relation to ethnicity.

> concrete approach to life, respect for individual persons and their family history, and realistic sensitivity regarding their neighborhoods and cultural values.[54]

It then called for political and economic initiatives organized around the following points:

1. A national policy for strengthening family life in America, especially in regard to children and the aging, and to new roles for women. From the beginning, a high proportion of white ethnic women have held occupations outside the home; yet the values of homemaking and family life are also deeply cherished. Tax incentives for cooperative family child care are needed by the extended family and its modern substitutes.
2. A national policy for strenthening neighborhood life and services in America. Neighborhoods need long-range stability, openness, cultural satisfaction, peace, and mutual aid. Family investment in a home and business should be guranteed by the government against social change, as bank deposits are guaranteed.
3. A national policy for strenthening social identity in America and a national effort to construct an accurate history of American diversity--in schools, texts, university research, the media, and other institutions. Rootlessness and atomization result from the neglect of reality.
4. A national policy for intergroup relations, so that all may benefit from the nation's diversity, so that conflicts between groups can be openly, intelligently and democratically resolved, and so that all groups come to feel that they are part of a system of justice and fairness for all.
5. A national economic bill of rights, including rights to health, safety, and job security, with due appreciation for diversity in group dynamics and needs.
6. Effective recognition of the diversity of our people on the part of universities, charitable foundations, churches and other institutions. Public institutions must serve the entire public, in sensitive and nuanced ways.[55]

To a great extent, these goals reflect sensitivity to pluralism, group identity, diversity, and the importance of the family. But EMPAC! recognized as well the importance of issues of power and wealth:

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[54] "To Build a New America," 211.

[55] Ibid., 214-215

> The goal of EMPAC! is fairness for all. Its enemies are racism and nativism. This new nativism is often technological in character--a nativism that disdains human diversity, human families, human bonds and sentiments and habits. Expressways are run through neighborhoods. Old, stable communities are neglected. Entire city blocks are razed, or abandoned, as if in war-torn cities. . . .
>
> Racism and nativism are intimately entwined. As long ago as American blacks were slaves, the common people of Eastern and Southern Europe (and Ireland and elsewhere) lived under conditions of serfdom. As immigrants from such lands came to America, they were pitted against one another in competition for jobs, housing, schooling. Some in America, who benefited by slavery and by inhuman industrial conditions, have tried to make the grandchildren of these same immigrants pay virtually the entire social price for slavery. Such nativism, exemplified in the liberal agenda for "minorities" of the 1960's, is not fair or just. Equality must come in America. But the costs of achieving equality in the United States must be equitably distributed . . . .
>
> White ethnics and black ethnics must find means of fair negotiation, intelligent mutuality, and common advance. Otherwise, both are doomed to share inferiority.[56]

The call for social and economic justice, on the one hand, and for cooperation between white and nonwhite ethnics is clear and explicit. Also clear, though not so explicit, is the recognition that both have a common adversary, the traditional, dominant, white power structure that has, at various times and places, exploited both.

The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs issued in 1972 a report of its Task Force on Social and Economic Policy Actions. The report spelled out policy recommendations containing specific goals for social justice:

1. Riasing the minimum wage and expanding its coverage.
2. Guaranteed public service employment.
3. Income maintenance plan that supplements workers' salaries up to an adequate level according to Bureau of Labor Statistics standards.
4. Increase transfer income through unemployment and social security.
5. The enactment of universal day care with guarantees against class and race discrimination.
6. A system of universal health insurance.

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[56] Ibid., 212-13.

7. A universal housing policy which provides rental assistance and insures low interest mortgages.
8. Fiscal policies which encourage the further development of credit unions and cooperatives for low-income people.[57]

These recommendations may sound more like what one expects of the liberal wing of the Democratic party, than from a white, ethnic organization. Yet, like those from EMPAC!, they reflect the liberal voting patterns and liberal attitudes on social justice issues that have been characteristic of white ethnics in the United States.[58] To this extent, then, stereotypes of the Southern or Eastern European ethnic Americans as bigoted, blue-collar, conservative racist are far from the truth.

The social policy issues which concern white ethnics are, in a number of important areas, the same as those that concern Blacks.[59] They are basic concerns for social work as well. Economic justice, income maintenance, health insurance, day care and housing, support for the family, neighborhood integrity and community control of education and services, all these have been matters of concern for social work, to a greater or lesser extent, for a number of years. What is distinctive of the 1970's is the increasing visibility of the white ethnic agenda in relation to them. It is not clear whether or not the white ethnics do or will constitute a power group along lines of blacks or Hispanics. It is, however, clear that their interests and needs should be considered in social policy.

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[57] "Report on the Task Force on Social and Economic Policy Actions, The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs," Doshefsky, ed., 231.

[58] Cf. Norman H. Nie; Barbara Currie; and Andrew M. Greeley, "Political Attitudes Among American Ethnics: A Study of Political Distortion," Andrew M. Greeley, Ethnicity in the United States: A Preliminary Reconnaissance (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1974), 186-209.

[59] Compare, for example, the "Legislative Agenda, 94th Congress, 1st Session," of the Congressional Black Caucus in Doshefsky, 218-29 with the EMPAC! and NCUEA statements in Doshefsky, 211-16 and 230-35.

Social policy goals and issues can be considered under three headings in relation to white ethnic concerns: (1) those relating to the welfare function of the state, (2) those affecting white ethnic-black ethnic relationships, and (3) those of distinctive import for white ethnics as such. Income maintenance, economic justice, health care, day care, and housing can properly be placed in the first category. Race relations can be considered in the second, though it also has implications for the first, and issues of cultural pluralism, neighborhood policy, and design and control of social services can be considered in the third.

1. White ethnics and the "Liberal Agenda"

In both their policy statements noted above, and in their voting records, white, Southern and Eastern European ethnics have shown themselves in favor of public policy to provide improved welfare programs. Survey research also indicates that 78% of Southern and 75% of Eastern European ethnics endorse a major governmental role in providing health, housing, medical care, and employment, as compared with 75% of Jews and 60% of Western European Protestants.[60] Seventy percent of the same ethnics said that government should have a major responsibility for helping the poor, as compared with 63% of Jews and 57% of the nonethnic white groups.[61] When income is controlled for, white ethnics, tend to decline somewhat in their support for governmental participation in welfare but still tend to favor it, and by larger percentages than native, white Protestants.[62]

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[60] Cf. Nie, Currie, and Greeley, Table 2, 192.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid., Table 5, 197.

Taking the policy statements of EMPAC! and the National Center for Urban Ethnics Affairs, their liberal attitudes toward welfare questions, and their continuing support of the Democratic party, it would be reasonably safe to assume that the Southern and Eastern European ethnics will support welfare reform that takes the form of a guaranteed minimum income, national health insurance, employment programs with the Federal government as employer of last resort, and federal subsidization of home loans and rent subsidies. To the extent that this assumption is true, it is difficult to agree with Colin Greer's charge that:

> ethnic-centered analyses serve to prepetuate the illusion of classlessness and the legend of equal opportunity and mobility. It is a pernicious syndrome. In large measure, these myths account for the rationalization of poverty in this country through the promise that everybody who is willing and able can eventually make it. In other words, a secular state of grace is instituted that legitimates the existing pyramid of power, encourages competitive and oppressive relationships along the various "ethnic" horizontals on the pyramid, and diverts attention from the parallel oppression and exploitation of the larger class system.[63]

The range of welfare reforms supported by Southern and Eastern European ethnics would, in themselves, reduce the height of the class pyramid. The changes in taxation required to bring about the reforms in question would result in income transfer from the middle and upper classes to the lower classes to a greater extent than is taking place today. Such transfers would have the result of increasing the equality Greer desires for the United States, an equality which the Southern and Eastern Europeans seem committed to themselves.

2. White ethnic and Black relationships

Greer's concern about the dangers of interracial conflict leads logically to our second area of social policy discussion, that of intergroup relations between black and white ethnics. Greer, himself, sees great potential for racism in the rise of white ethnic consciousness. In his review of Michael Novak's The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, he faults the author for barely touching on "the uncanny simultaneity of the 'rise of the ethnics' and America's recent regressive stance on those issues--like bussing for desegregation--that concern the continuing struggle to emancipate this nation from slavery" and for not dealing adequately with "the anti-Black aspects of the reemergence of white ethnic consciousness."[64]

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[63] Colin Greer, "Remembering Ethnicity, Forgetting Class," Social Policy 3 (November/December 1972, January/Feburary 1973): 117. This brief article is a critical review of Novak's The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics.

Extensive empirical research indicates that white ethnic groups are, in general, less likely to have negative attitudes towards blacks than are those whites who can be considered nonethnic, although they tend to be more negative in a number of areas than the Jews.[65] When region and family income are controlled for, ethnic background appears to matter very little in terms of people who live outside the South and earn more than $5,000 per year, while low income ethnic groups outside the South tend to be more pro-black than their native Protestant counterparts or wealthier ethnic relatives. This is not to deny ethnic neighborhood conflicts with blacks but it does suggest conflict due to questions of neighborhood stability and proverty values. Since Southern and Eastern European ethnics and Jews are more likely than native Protestants to live in racially mixed neighborhoods (outside the South), racial tensions are more likely to be found among these groups as residential, transportation, and economic patterns change in the cities. The evidence seems to point to such factors, rather than a necessary correlation between rising ethnic consciousness and racial prejudice, as explaining conflicts between White and Black ethnics. Greer, then, would be correct in stressing the importance of not losing sight of class issues in the midst of concern for ethnic issues. But emphasis on class does not lead to any necessity to abandon or water down stress on the value of ethnic heritage and cultural pluralism. The commonality of class issues for Black and White ethnics alike does suggest the value of coalition building among them.[66]

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[64] Ibid., 116.

[65] Cf. Andrew M. Greeley, The American Catholic, A Social Portrait (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977), 112-22 and Greeley, Ethnicity in the United States, 218-51.

A particularly difficult issue in black (and other minority groups such as Hispanics)-ethnic white relations is that of employment opportunities and affirmative action programs, programs which sometimes are interpreted to call for quotas in hiring of groups which have suffered discrimination.[67] These groups, to a considerable extent, have been identified as Black, Hispanic, Asiatic, and American Indian, and, more recently, women. On the one hand, access to, security, and promotional opportunities in employment have both been hard won by white blue and white collar workers and also won with less competition than might otherwise have existed because of discriminatory practices on the part of some unions and some employers. On the other hand, many of the workers whose jobs might be least secure in the face of economic recession or competition did not create the patterns of discrimination that have put other groups at a disadvantage. Should these individuals, and their children coming into the labor market pay the price for correcting the discriminatory patterns that have developed?

Yet it would be unrealistic and unethical to pretend that jobs and employment have been available to Blacks or Puerto Ricans on the same bases that they have been available to whites. "Thus," as Levine and Herman have asked, "is not the demand for preference by Blacks and others who have been left out a reasonable and 'legitimate' one? Should they be told to wait for economic expansion, until there is 'room for everyone'"[68]

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[66] Cf. Ozawa, 41-43.

[67] Cf. Joan Abramson, "Measuring Success or, Whatever Happened to Affirmative Action?" Civil Rights Digest 9 (Winter 1977): 14-27.

Complete discussion of this issue is beyond the scope of this paper. Four observations, however, may be of value:

1. As levine and Herman realistically observe, "as long as there is a shortage of adequate jobs or a limited number of 'preferred slots' in the society--that is, as long as power and resources are beyond the reach of many groups in the nation--there will be friction and even group conflict. Some groups have always fought to maintain their positions of influence--they have won for a time, but generally there have been shifts in power relations in response to left-out groups."[69] The Blacks, as one example, did make faster economic progress than whites during the 1960's. For the late 70's, coalitions between low income ethnic groups, black, white, Hispanic, seem essential to shift a certain amount of the nation's economic product to the poor and lower middle class.
2. In a society in which past discrimination has limited the opportunities of some groups for educational and economic development, equality of opportunity will be something less than a present reality as those groups compete with more favored groups. Present and future deficits would seem, then, likely to emerge from past deficits and to continue, unless special compensatory measures were taken.

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[68] Irving M. Levine and Judith Herman, "Some Jewish Reflections on 'New Pluralism,'" Michael Wenk, S.M. Tomasi, and Geno Baroni, eds., Pieces of a Dream, The Ethnic Worker's Crisis with America (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1972), 188.

[69] Ibid., 189.

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3. The position of the Federal government on affirmative action policy is less than completely clear or free from ambiguity. The sense of the Civil Rights Act of1964 was that an employer did not have to maintain a certain racial balance in his work force by giving preferential treatment to one group rather than another on grounds unrelated to qualification for a position and that the burden of proof that an employer was guilty of discrimination was on the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Court Decisions, however, interpreting Title VII of the Act, and subsequent Executive Orders demand positive action by employers to compensate for discriminatory behavior and to study their staffing patterns to prove they are not discriminating. It is disputed as to whether quota systems are necessary to demonstrate the absence of discrimination. The United States Commission on Civil Rights has argued that the requirement of goals and timetables is not the same as setting quotas because "under a quota system a fixed number or percentage of minorities or females is imposed upon the employer, who has an absolute obligation to meet that fixed number . . . . Toals and timetables, by contrast, are result-oriented procedures by which the employer--subject only to the requirement that the targeted results are as much as reasonably can be expected--determines goals and a time schedule for correcting minority underutilization . . . ."[70]

4. Ethically, a case can be made that the common good of the country can justify preferential hiring practices in order to promote the integration of all groups in the country into the mainstream. Such preferential

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[70] United States Commission on Civil Rights, Statement on Affirmative Action for Equal Employment Opportunities (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1973), 20.

4. practice can be of two kinds: weak, in which a minority group person is chosen in preference to equally qualified non-minority persons, and strong, in which a less qualified minority person is chosen over more qualified non-minority persons. Of the two, the former seems more reasonable, since it would maintain levels of performance and recognition of real capabilities of persons. The latter could be harmful, since it could reinforce concepts of inferiority of certain members of minority groups or reduce levels of competence socially desirable in certain work roles.[71]

In the light of these considerations, a strong case can be made for preferential hiring of members of minority groups that have been the objects of discrimination in the United States. Yet, in saying this, it is important to hold out as well the ideal suggested by Levine and Herman when they called for programming that would "attempt to accomplish two goals at the same time: 'affirmative action' to open entry and promotion for members of previously excluded groups, and 'alternative action' to protect and expand opportunities for individuals in legitimately held positions."[72] For the white ethnic this would seem to represent an important goal for social policy that has not been attempted yet.

3. The White ethnic agenda

The third policy area to be considered here has to do with issues concerning white ethnics precisely as such, what Joseph Giordano, following Levine refers to as "a second agenda that includes lower-middle-class whites--the

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[71] Cf., for philosophical discussion of the ethical issues here, Thomas Nagel, "Equal Treatment and Compensatory Discrimination," Philosophy & Public Affairs 2 (Summer 1973): 348-63 and Mary Anne Warren, "Secondary Sexism and Quota Hiring," Philosophy & Public Affairs 6 (Spring 1977): 240-61.

[72] Levine and Herman, 189-90.

Poles, Irish, Italians, Greeks, Jews, and so on."[73] Issues of the ethnic cultural heritage, respect for the neighborhood and its institutions, the church, school, stores, and organizations, political linkages, and transportation patterns are some of the specific elements operative here. Without attempting to be comprehensive, several specific policy issues can be identified here and set forth in summary form:

1. Cultural pluralism. As the myth of the melting pot recedes and cultural pluralism and diversity acquire respectability, certain programs can be identified which support the growth of ethnic consciousness. Two Federal programs specifically relevant here are the Bilingual Educational program, authorized by Congress in 1968, and the Ethnic Heritage Studies program, authorized in 1972. The former was originally intended primarily to help Spanish speaking students but has expanded to the point where it offers courses in over sixty languages and dialects. It is estimated that in the 1977-78 school year the bilingual education program will support "363 classroom projects enrolling approximately 184,755 children, provide in-service training for 24,093 teachers, paraprofessionals and administrators, sponsor traineeships and fellowships to over 1,040 teachers and potential teachers in the area of bilingual education, and develop, evaluate and disseminate curriculum materials for use nationally in bilingual education programs."[74] Expenditures for this program in FY 1976 were $71,394,000 and $90,000,000 has been requested in the Budget for FY 1978.[75]

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[73] Joseph Giordano, "Servicing and Organizing the White Ethnic Working-Class Community," Journal of Education for Social Work 11 (Winter 1975): 59.

[74] The Budget of the United States Government Fiscal Year 1977, Appendix (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1976), 345.

[75] The Budget of the United States Government Fiscal Year 1978, Appendix (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977), 331.

While the Bilingual Education Act has expanded to respond to and support retention and development of white ethnic languages, the Ethnic Heritage Act was specifically designed from the beginning to promote development of educational materials and program relating to the culture, history and traditions of the ethnic and minority groups in the United States. The Act does not define ethnics but the accompanying report of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee makes clear that legislative intent includes Mexicans, Blacks, and Asians, as well as the European immigration groups more commonly referred to as ethnic.[76] The initial funding authorization was for fifteen million dollars. The FY 1977 budget estimate is $2,300,000 and 1978 request $1,800,000.[77] Funds from this program support education in ethnicity, development of curriculum materials, and dissemination of these materials to ethnic organizations and educational institutions.

In themselves, these two programs may seem very modest. Symbolically, however, they do speak of recognition, at the level of the Federal government, of the validity of concern for one's native language or that of one's parents and the importance of growth in understanding of one's ethnic heritage.

2. Neighborhood vitality. April 11, 1977 Monsignor Geno Baroni was sworn in as Assistant Secretary of the Department of Housing and Urban Development

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[76] Cf. the explanation given by Senator Richard S. Schweiker in his "Ethnic Studies: Toward a New Pluralism in America" in Wenk et al., eds., 70. This is a good example of the importance of examing the context when attempting to understand the meaning of the word 'ethnic.' While it often designates the white, ethnic groups which are the primary focus of this paper, it can be used in a wider sense to include Blacks, Puerto Ricans, and American Indians, to mention but a few groups.

[77] Budget of the U.S. 1978, Appendix, 331.

2. for neighborhoods, voluntary associations and community development. Ethnic groups saw in this appointment recognition of their concern for their neighborhoods and traditions, for Baroni, former Director of the National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs, had been one of the most prominent spokespersons for ethnic issues. His own words on the importance of neighborhoods reflect the feelings of many Southern and Eastern European white ethnics: "We literally destroy neighborhoods in order to save them, by urban renewal and by the highway program. But neighborhoods have survived in spite of it all. And I am one of those persons who believes that federal, state and local policy will have to deal with neighborhoods. I will raise that issue. I am interested in two agendas: redlining--the major disinvestment factor--and neighborhoods as the building blocks of cities. If neighborhoods die, cities die."[78]

At the local level, citizen action groups in Milwaukee, Chicago, and Minneapolis-St. Paul, to a great extent composed of lower class, white ethnics, often cooperating with Blacks, brought pressure to bear on local financial institutions to invest in local neighborhoods for mortgages and homes repair loans. Where such institutions were redlining, the people demanded that they stop the practice. (Red-lining can be defined as the policy of some financial institutions which offer mortgages to draw a red line around certain inner city and working class neighborhoods even though accepting savings deposits from their residents.) Coalitions of citizen organizations and Church groups successfully brought pressure to bear by obtaining pledges from people in the neighborhoods to withdraw their deposits from the institutions in question unless they invested

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[78] "If Baroni's at HUD, the Neighborhoods Are Looking Up," National Journal 9 June 4, 1977, 860-861.

2. in the depositors' neighborhoods. A striking example of the power of such movements was the effectiveness on the Citizens Action Program in Chicago which collected $11 million in such pledges in parts of the city's Southwest side.[79] This is the kind of power that makes banks and savings and loan associations take notice. It is, too, a creative type of community organization. A coalition of neighborhood groups, coordinated by the National Peoples Action Coalition demonstrated its ability to impact on public policy at the national level when it worked successfully for passage in 1975 of the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act.[80] The Act provided for exposure of redlining and urban disinvestment practices of financial institutions and corrective action by the Federal Reserve Board and Federal Home Loan Bank Board. NPAC grew out of organizing and training work in Chicago and has grown to include linkages with citizen action groups in some 90 cities. Financial backing has come from the Ford Foundation and Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of Chicago, which has provided staff support under the leadership of the Rev. Roger Coughlin and Mr. Shel Trapp. As this is written, the House of Representatives (June 16, 1977) has called for a conference committee meeting with the Senate in order to reconcile differences between the two bodies on HR6655 which, as passed by the Senate, continues anti-redlining policy. The Bill requires that federally regulated financial institutions' records be assessed in terms of meeting credit needs of the areas contiguous to deposit facilities from which they receive more than half their deposit

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[79] *A Federalist Paper, 1974: Citizen Money Organizations: From Protest to Power* (Chicago: Industrial Areas Foundation, 1974), 2.

[80] For the background and issues of the Citizens Action Program and the National Peoples Action Coalition, cf. Roger J. Coughlin, "The House the Community Made and Vice Versa," *Social Thought* 3 (Spring 1977): 71-87.

2. customers. (Note that reference is to numbers of customers, not dollar value of deposits.)

The Peoples Action Coalition started, in great part as a working class, white ethnic organization. But Blacks and Hispanics became involved in it early. Today it includes large representations from these groups, working hard and effectively with white ethnics. It represents, in a conspicuous manner, the goal called for by both Saul Alinsky and George Wiley shortly before their deaths, namely coalition between Black and White for social justice.

3. Social Service Delivery. The module on social service practice in this series has discussed the importance of individualizing services in relation to the ethnic character of the persons or groups to be served. Recognition of the importance of ethnicity for practice purposes, necessarily implies its importance for agency policy and organization of services.

Irving R. Levine, Director of the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, has developed a conceptualization of the ecological approach in social work that offers a helpful direction for policy development which is sensitive to ethnicity. It is based on the following priniciples:

a. the natural informal systems of family, community, neighborhoods, work and group attachments can be utilized to operate more effectively in providing services to individuals in need.

b. Individuals are strengthened if they can relate positively to their group identity. Consciousness of ethnic group background, family history and respect for customs of the group and of the home can contribute to one's sense of self and provide a meaningful base for managing life and dealing with emotional stress.

c. Professionals and technicians must mesh their expertise with that of the people's common sense and daily experiences and develop a partnership with clients and consumers that respects both training and life experiences.[81]

Translation of these principles into policy at agency and community level can make a positive difference in the delivery of social services. The model of the political organization and its precinct workers as an example for social agencies has been suggested in this context, and it is a plausible model.[82] The political organization takes ethnic and neighborhood identity and problems seriously, if for no other reason because they represent votes. The precinct captain knows the neighborhood and the people know him. He is a direct link with City Hall and the services it can offer, better street lighting, garbage removal, jobs, or transportation. The precinct captain may not always be able to deliver, for an urban community is a center of competing actors and forces, but he is a means of access to the system. Neighborhood outreach workers from social agencies can play similar roles in relating the people in the neighborhoods to services, as well as help identify gaps in social policy which warrant exploration and possible action to develop a needed service or reform an inadequate one.

At a larger level, such a neighborhood and local community approach to service delivery is congruent with the move toward decentralization of services and local planning called for by Title XX of the Social Security Act.

It is neither possible nor desirable to include here all the social policy issues that relevant to ethnicity. Focus has been on those relating to the white ethnic, although as was apparent, concerns of Black and Hispanic groups were necessarily presented as well.

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[81] Donald Feldstein and Joseph Giordano, "The New Pluralism and Social Work Education," a Paper presented at the Council on Social Work Education Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, March 3, 1976, pp. 10-11.

[82] Cf. McCready, 22-24

Conclusion

The rise of ethnic consciousness is an unmistakable reality. It is difficult, at this time, to assess its dimensions adequately and impossible to predict its future. Nevertheless, as a present reality with implications for broad public policy as well as social work practice, it merits serious study. To the extent that identification with one's ethnic heritage enhances personal growth and community integration, it may well be that social work will wish to encourage and promote the growth of ethnic consciousness. The empirical data summarized above indicate that such growth need not polarize Black and White ethnics. Moreover, the data and the impact of organizations developing from ethnic concerns suggest that this growth will not lead to obscuring or minimizing economic and class inequities in the United States. In fact they suggest that alliances between poor and working class peoples of various ethnic backgrounds can work effectively against upper class oppression and exploitation of workers and the poor. Finally, Michael Novak puts it well:

> It does not seem evident that by becoming more concrete, accepting one's finite and limited identity, one necessarily becomes parochial. Quite the opposite. It seems more likely that, by each of us becoming more profoundly what we are, we will find greater unity in those depths in which unity radiates diversity than we will by attempting through the artifices of the American "melting pot," and the cultural religion of science or the dreams of radical utopias, to become what we are not.
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> There is, I take it, a form of liberalism not wedded to universal Reason, whose ambition is not to homogenize all peoples on this planet, and whose base lies rather in the imagination and in the imagination and in the diversity of human stories. . . [83]

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[83] Novak, 84.

Possible methods for using this module

This module can be used in a variety of ways for teaching purposes. It could be used, in summary form, for one class in a basic social policy course or expanded to cover three classes. Each of its three major sections is, to a great extent, a complete unit in itself and, with suitable adaptation, capable of being used with other modules in this project. The section, for example, on current social policy issues could be used with the companion module on "Ethnicity in the Teaching of Community Organization."

The extensive documentation of the module and its accompanying biliography provide a good introduction to much of the relevant material about ethnicity and social policy available in the literature. The teacher or student who wishes to study the subject in greater depth will find ample sources here for further exploration.

The following organizations can suggest or provide additional educational material about ethnicity and social policy concerns and issues:

The National Center for Urban Ethnic Affairs
1521 Sixteenth Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

EMPAC!
Box 48
Bayville, N.Y. 11709

Catholic Charities
126 N. Desplaines Street
Chicago, Illinois 60606

Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity
American Jewish Committee
165 E. 65th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

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CHAPTER 6

ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL WORK RESEARCH

by
Zoe Henderson Carrigan, D.S.W.

ETHNICITY AND SOCIAL WORK RESEARCH

Zoe Henderson Carrigan, DSW

Introduction

The exploding concern for racial, ethnic and cultural diversity has caught the schools of social work without an adequate knowledge and methodological base regarding the effects of ethnicity on behavior and the relationship of ethnicity to social work practice. Social work educators have had to depend on the fields of anthropology, sociology and political science for the basic knowledge about ethnic and cultural diversity. There has been little emphasis on ethnicity as a subject area for research studies in relation to social work education and practice.[1] There is a need to determine both what is appropriate and what is needed in social work research related to ethnicity.

From the standpoint of researchers, ethnicity can be viewed as diversity or differences between groups, or as commonalities or similarities within groups. One definition of ethnicity is "cultural uniqueness, historically derived."[2] Weber defines ethnic groups as a collectivity that believes in its common descent.[3] Ethnocentrism carries with it the concepts of similarity within a group and superior characteristics of one group over other groups, but also carries negative connotations of prejudice and discrimination against those who are different or regarded as being inferior.

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[1] Daniel Sanders, "Dynamics of Ethnic and Cultural Pluralism: Implications for Social Work Education and Curriculum Innovation," Journal of Education for Social Work 11 (Fall 1975): 95-100.

[2] Richard Kolm, "Ethnicity and the Ethnic Family in American Social Work," Paper presented at the conference on "The American Family: The Continuing Impact of Ethnicity," School of Social Service, Washington, D.C., Catholic University, April 4-5, 1977.

[3] Max Weber, "The Ethnic Group," In Talcott Parsons, et al (Eds.) Theories of Society, (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1961), 305-309.

In research, we are interested in the statistical generalization, e.g. what significant differences in behavior are there between groups with some identifiable characteristic, such as race, sex or ethnic identity. Researchers are also interested in controlling the effects of variables that are extraneous to their main research question, but which might influence the variables under investigation. Thus ethnicity and race are seen as possible factors influencing behavior and the results of social work interventions.

In addition to the utilization of knowledge, based on research by other disciplines, in all social work courses, scientific investigation by social work researchers is needed to enhance social work knowledge in this area.

There are several aspects to consider when planning to emphasize ethnicity in the social work research curriculum. The first is: What content or knowledge areas related to social work practice need to be studied? The second aspect is the problem of knowing when to include ethnicity as a variable in a research design, and the third aspect is the type of methodologies that are appropriate for the study of ethnicity by social work researchers. Whether social work researchers and interviewers should be of the same ethnic background as the subjects of research is the fourth aspect, and the fifth and major aspect is how to integrate ethnicity into the research curriculum.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the problems and opportunities in integrating ethnicity both as a subject and a variable into the research curriculum in social work. The various research methodologies, including types of studies, methods of data collection and the ethnic background of researchers are discussed in regard to social work research on ethnicity. Suggestions are given about how to integrate ethnicity into the research curriculum through use of other social work courses, use of research questions and as problems in data analysis and interpretation. Examples of research problems are provided which can be used in the classroom.

Ethnicity as a Subject for Research

Ethnicity as a subject for research has traditionally been in the domain of sociologists, anthropologists, ethnologists and political scientists. Anthropologists have studied cultures and groups in far off places isolated from the mainstream of the dominant cultures. Examples of these types of studies are Margaret Mead's Coming of Age in Samoa and Clyde Kluckhohn's studies of American Indians. More recently, social researchers, utilizing anthropological techniques, have studied urban cultural and racial groups. Tally's Corner by Eliot Liebow, Street Corner Society by William Whyte and Hard Living on Clay Street by Joseph T. Howell.[4] These latter studies might be seen as more relevant to social work research and applicable to teaching social work research methodologies.

Kluckhohn points out two interrelated problems: (1) whether there are "definite limits within which cultural variation is constrained by panhuman regularities in biology, psychology and the processes of social interaction?" and (2) whether there are "categories of culture which are universal and which are uniform and invariant points of reference for description and comparison

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[4] Margaret Mead, Coming of Age in Samoa, (New York: Dell, 1968); Clyde Kluckhohn, and Dorethea Leighton, The Navaho (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1946); Eliot Liebow, Tally's Corner, (Boston: Little, Brown Co., 1967); William Whyte, Street Corner Society, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943); Joseph T. Howell, Hard Living on Clay Street, (Garden City, New York: Anchor Press & Doubleday, 1972).

. . . .[5] In general, the attention of anthropologists have been directed to "the distinctiveness of each culture and to the differences in human custom as opposed to the similarities."[6]

This points out one of the major problems in social work education, in that we are trying to teach students about the universal aspects of behavior upon which social work practice can be based, while at the same time, we want social workers to appreciate and understand individual and group differences. As Redfield points out, man can be viewed from the standpoint of his individual personality, from the standpoint of his cultural group or from the standpoint of his humanity or universal characteristics.[7]

As already mentioned, the most common way of differentiating ethnic groups is on the basis of their cultural differences, which are historically derived. Often however, other factors such as race, religion, status, etc. are also used as criteria of ethnic distinction. Since the discussion of these usages is beyond the scope of this paper, the focus of this discussion will be on cultural and social differences.

Cultural elements include a wide variety of topics, such as values, attitudes towards one's own group, attitudes towards other groups, prejudices, beliefs, morals, symbolic meanings, fears, guilt, perceptions, norms, customs, traditions, and patterns of interpersonal relationships. Sociological aspects of ethnicity include: social structure, roles and statuses, support systems, social networks, and intergroup relations. Then there is the whole area of cultural adaptation which includes acculturation, social change, social conflict, divided loyalties and intergenerational conflicts.

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[5] Clyde Kluckhohn, "Universal Categories of Culture," In Sol Tax, (ed.), Anthropology Today: Selections, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962): 304-308.

[6] Ibid., 308.

[7] Robert Redfield, "Relations of Anthropology to the Social Sciences and to the Humanities," In Sol Tax, (ed.) Anthropology Today: Selections, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962): 459.

A review of the research studies on ethnicity by other disciplines, which was done by the research grant staff, indicated that studies cover a multitude of different topics. Out of a total of 284 articles reviewed by the staff, there were seventy-five that were scientific investigations. There were approximately five each on the subjects of: group cohesiveness-identity, social interaction, family structure and behavior, social participation and status, mental abilities, achievement, health and illness, generational change and mental illness. Other topics with from one to three studies are: social role expectations, social work interventions, psychogenesis, food practices, aspirations, futurity, prejudice, service utilization, poverty, sexual activity, child rearing, mental retardation, adjustment, communication styles, political attitudes, religion, life cycles, self concept and religion. All of these research studies had ethnicity as a major variable or topic of study.

According to Giordano, much of today's knowledge of ethnicity is based on research in the thirties and fifties which was focused primarily on prejudice, stereotyping, social distance and race relations.[8] Rabkin and Struening[9] reviewed the research on the influence of ethnicity on mental illness and concluded that there was a need for more studies of the epidemiology of mental illness and the various factors associated with ethnicity and mental illness.

In the grant staff's search of the literature very few studies were found by social work researchers or in social work journals. One of the social work journal articles was about community organization strategies for Black leaders and the other about family behavior of Greeks. One social work dissertation was located on the needs of aging Jews for residential care. A search of the titles of research papers and theses at the master's level at the National Catholic School of Social Service (NCSSS) located seven studies on ethnicity or race between 1972 and 1976. In the years ending in May 1976 and May 1977, there were four studies each year. One was an oral History of East European Jewish immigrants. Three were on Latin American families, three on Blacks and one on the Jewish period of Shiva.

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[8] Joseph Giordano and Grace Pineiro Giordano, "Ethnicity and Community Mental Health: A Review of Literature," Prepublication Manuscript to be published in Community Mental Health Review, 1976, 3.

[9] J. Rabkin and Struening, Ethnicity, Social Class and Mental Illness in New York City: A Social Area Analysis of Five Ethnic Groups, (New York: National Project on Group Identity and Mental Health, American Jewish Committee, 1976).

Ethnic research problems appropriate for social work

Given the diversity of topics of the various disciplines, what then is appropriate as topics or questions for social work researchers? Daniel Sanders believes that:

> Research activity in class and field should be broadened and go beyond the confines of traditional social work research. Opportunity should be provided for research pertaining to life-styles of minority groups, resources, patterns, role expectations, special needs, and the effects of specific policies on ethnic and cultural groups.[9]

Mirelowitz and Grossman pointed out the knowledge needed by social workers in the area of ethnicity. These areas of knowledge can be translated into the following questions:

1. Do agency services and programs create blocks to serving ethnic groups?
2. Are coping strategies different for various ethnic groups?
3. To what extent do social workers feel that culturally diverse children having difficulties in school should change themselves rather than have the system accomodate to them?

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[10] Daniel S. Sanders, "Dynamics of Ethnic and Cultural Pluralism: Implications for Social Work Education and Curriculum Innovation," Journal of Education for Social Work 11 (Fall 1975): 99.

4. Do social workers need to be of the same ethnic or racial group as their clients in order to be effective?
5. What is the ethnic status of admission practices and faculties of schools of social work?[11]

These questions can be used as the basis for designing research studies on ethnicity and social work.*

Some other research problems and questions which need attention and are relevant to social work are:

1. Studies of the effects of different models of intervention on ethnic groups,
2. The ethnic specificity of social policy of community issues,
3. The influence of the social network in providing support for group members and the variation in support from one ethnic group to another,
4. The effects of cultural beliefs and traditions on anxiety and normal stresses of the life cycle,
5. Are there ethnic differences in interaction styles?
6. What stereotypes and prejudices exist in the profession, and
7. What value differences exist between social work practitioners and their ethnically different clients?

Since there are social researchers from many other disciplines studying ethnicity, it seems important to state what might be more appropriate for them to study rather than for social work researchers. These include several questions suggested by Sanders:

1. How closely do any group's values resemble those of white Protestant middle class?
2. Have groups converged or diverged in values over time?

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[11] Seymour Mirelowitz and Leona Grossman, "Ethnicity: An Intervening Variable in Social Work Education." Journal of Education for Social Work 11 (3) (Fall 1975): 76-83.

*See last section of this chapter for examples.

3. What are the major differences in values, beliefs, traditions, and sense of belongingness, etc., of specific ethnic groups?

4. What are society's attitudes and prejudices towards specific ethnic groups?[12]

Mirelowitz and Grossman also suggest topical areas that seem to this researcher to be beyond the scope of research in social work:

1. The extent to which ethnicity connotes negative properties;
2. The effect of social system dysfunctions on ethnic groups;
3. History of ethnic groups; and
4. The common experience of all minority groups, such as poverty, discrimination, identity conflicts, etc.[13]

This is not to say that some students or social work researchers could not study some of these topics, but that research time, funds and expertise are limited and must be expended in areas not as likely to be researched by other disciplines and which are more specifically related to the professional practice of social work.

Ethnicity as a Variable

Ethnicity can be seen as a factor which affects people's behavior, as attitudes or values which need to be included in the research design or as an extraneous variable that needs to be controlled or removed by statistical manipulation because of its confounding effects on the variables under study. If one were to study the appropriate social work intervention with cancer patients, it would be important to consider the ethnic factor in any design, because of the strong influence of culture on the expression of pain.[14]

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[12] Sanders,

[13] Mirelowitz and Grossman,

[14] Mark Zborowski, "Cultural Components in Responses to Pain," in Social Perspectives on Behavior, eds. H. D. Stein and R. Cloward, (New York: The Free Press, 1958), 145-156.

If a researcher were to investigate the relationship between aging and life satisfaction, ethnicity might be one of several variables, such as race, income, health and education, which could be included in multiple correlation and regression analysis.

There are two major problems that arise when ethnicity needs to be taken into account as a possible factor along with many factors that affect behavior and attitudes. The first is how to measure ethnicity. The second is the problem of sampling due to the small numbers of persons of any ethnic group which may be present in a given sample of a study of a population group, even in a large metropolitan area.

Problems of measurement

When considering how to measure ethnicity, the first problem is how to define ethnicity operationally. What questions need to be asked and what criteria are to be used? Is ethnicity to be defined as the persons see themselves or as others see them? Do we use objective measures such as language, dress, mannerisms, customs, religious practices and association, and skin color, or do we use psychological variables such as belongingness, attitudes, values, beliefs and loyalty? The second problem of measurement is whether or not to determine the degree of intensity of identification with an ethnic group. Is one an ethnic merely because of self-identification or does it require a degree of participation in ethnic activities?

Robert Merton discusses the problem of "inner vs. other" definition as an ethnic, when he says that ethnicity is sometimes situationally defined. He quotes Albert Einstein who suggested that whether he was defined as a German or a Jew or a citizen of the world varied by the country and by the success status of his theory of relativity.[15]

Another problem in ethnic identification is that of labeling by "professional ethnics" who espouse a cause of ethnicity or who for political purposes derive new labels to help the identity process, such as, Afro-Americans, Chicanos, Latinos, etc. The question is to what extent do the members of these groups identify with the labels? Some years back, when it was first considered the "in thing" with organizers of Spanish-speaking people in the West to designate everyone as Chicanos, a study showed that only 5% of the population thought of themselves as Chicanos.

The writer's knowledge of Spanish-speaking people in the West, derived from organizing for an adult basic education project,[16] revealed that there were four labels with which they identified themselves depending on social status, education and place of origin: Spanish, Spanish-American, Mexican-American and Mexican. At that point in time (in the middle 1960's), none of these groups thought of themselves as Chicanos. For that matter, do all persons with Negroid features really want to be called Black?

People who have been persecuted, discriminated against or taunted as children for being ethnically different may not wish to identify themselves as ethnics. Attempts to utilize questionnaires that require self-labeling may lead to invalid results.

Several researchers have used different methods to measure ethnic identification. In a study of the determinants of race prejudice among high school seniors, ethnicity was measured by the use of a set of ten dummy variables created by the responses to questions dealing with ethnic identification and religious preference. Eleven ethnic groups were involved in the study and tested through analysis of variance. Significant differences in racial prejudice were found, which served to validate the procedures.[17]

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[15] Robert K. Merton, "Insiders and Outsiders: A Chapter in the Sociology of Knowledge," American Journal of Sociology 78 (1) (July 1972): 28.

[16] Zoe Henderson Carrigan, "The Adult Basic Education Project," Colorado State University, Fort Collins, Colorado, Mimeograph, 1966.

Zak used a Jewish-American identity scale consisting of ten Jewish identity items and ten American identity items. Identity was defined as the degree of centrality of the group for the individual, his belongingness, sensitivity to issues and feeling of interdependence with others in the group. Results indicated two major factors, one reflecting Jewish identity and the other, American identity.[18]

Glazer[19] measured psychological distance through a psychosociogram and Rollins[20] measured ego involvement in an ethnic group by a sorting technique of items describing their own ethnic group. As can be seen, these latter three studies appear to measure psychological variables and intensity of identity.

In a study of aging and ethnicity at the National Catholic School of Social Service (NCSSS), (1976-78), some of the following aspects were covered in an attempt to measure ethnicity: (1) place of birth, (2) parents place of birth, (3) contact with relatives in other countries, (4) interest in the other country, (5) closeness of feelings to an ethnic group, (6) preference of association with an ethnic group, (7) religious service attendance, (8) ethnic objects in home, (9) language spoken by respondents and their families, (10) membership in clubs and (11) attendance at club meetings. Both social and psychological factors are used in this study as well as the degree of intensity of identification.[21]

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[17] Sanford M. Schwartz, "Determinants of Race Prejudice Among High School Seniors: Ethnicity and Other Social Factors," Boys Town Center, Catholic University, Xerox: Washington, D.C., 1976.

[18] I. Zak, "Dimensions of Jewish-American Identity," Psychological Reports 33 (1973): 891-900.

[19] Mark Glazer, "Psychological Intimacy Among Jews of North Metropolitan Chicago and the Separdic Jews of Istanbul, Turkey," Dissertation Abstracts International 34 (6-B), 1973, p. 247.

[20] J. Rollins, "Reference Identification Youth of Differing Ethnicity," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 26 (1973): 222.

Problems of size and sampling

If a researcher wants to consider ethnicity as one of several other important variables that need to be controlled for in terms of its affect on the dependent variable, then the problem of which ethnic group to control for becomes an enormous one. If there are over 400 Indian tribes, it might be possible that, in a large metropolitan area, many of them might be present. Does one list all 400, plus all of the other ethnic groups, in hopes that a significant number of one type might be identified and the effects analyzed?

While random sampling from a population group would, hopefully, spread some of the effects of ethnicity evenly through the groups being studied, the problem is that in most of the social work research studies engaged in by students on the master's level and practitioners, groups are taken as they are found in a expost-facto-correlational field study and there is no possibility of random selection or assignment.

If the size of the population being studied is large, then the effects of ethnic groups or factors could be studied through chi square, analysis of variance or analysis of covariance. The problem is that most of the M.S.W. students are studying groups of from 20 to 60 persons and are lucky to be able to have enough cases for a 2 x 2 contingency table in order to perform a chi square and to study two variables at a time. Most students do not use the computer and must rely on hand calculation of chi squares, correlations and t tests, thus they are limited to two groups or two variables for a given analysis.

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[21] National Catholic School of Social Service, "Informal and Formal Support Systems and Their Effects on the Lives of the Elderly in Selected Ethnic Groups," AOA 90-A-1007, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., Oct. 1976-78.

In most of the research studies in the area of ethnicity reviewed by the project staff, certain groups were limited by stratified sampling to only two to five ethnic groups at one time. That is, Italians were compared to Anglo-Saxons and Blacks. American-reared Chaldeans were compared to immigrant Chaldeans in regard to various differences. However, in a study of the effects of ethnicity on role relationships among police officers in a large metropolitan city, there were enough persons in a random sample of 296 officers out of a total force of 1744 to locate five distinct groups: Blacks, Irish, Italian, Polish and Anglo-Saxon. Therefore, it was possible to analyze the differences between these groups.[22] Whether this would be true in a study of social workers in a large city is problematical.

In the study of a community, with distinct groupings of sufficient size, a random sampling technique might also work to uncover differences between ethnic groups. In a study of the ethnic factor in Fall River, Massachusetts, a 3% random sample of households (N-95) yielded sufficient data and sample size of eight major ethnic groups to study differentiation, adaptation, inclusion, social status and value orientations.[23]

Sometimes discriminatory practices in real estate will serve to congregate different groups so that utilization of census tracts will yield differential groups for comparison. In a secondary analyses of a study of aging and decision making at NCSSS, students were able to compare Blacks to Whites by using two different census tracts from which the groups had been randomly sampled.[24] When working with large grants, a more complete testing of the effects of ethnicity is possible than for student research projects, which must necessarily be limited in time and cost. Consequently, for M.S.W. students, the best idea would be to study two or three dirrerent ethnic groups or to study intergenerational differences within one ethnic group.

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[22] Frank G. Pogue, "A Study of Ethnic Background and Role Strain, Among Policemen," Dissertation, Dissertation Abstracts International 34 (1974) No. 74-8690: 6763.

[23] Shai Javetz, "The Ethnic Factor in Fall River, Massachusetts," Dissertation, Dissertation Abstracts International 35 (6-B) (1974) No. 74-38,265: 3016.

Research Methodologies and Social Work Research in Ethnicity

There are three major concerns related to research methodologies in studying ethnicity: (1) the appropriate types of studies, (2) the best methods of data collection, and (3) the ethnic status of the researchers and interviewers. It is important to know about the trends in other disciplines in studying ethnicity and to discuss the types of studies and research methods most appropriate for social researchers. The problem of insider vs. outsider status of the researchers and interviewers has special significance for social workers who must also learn to differentiate between being a practitioner and being a researcher. The possibility for role conflict and confusion is an important one for social workers.

Research methods in other disciplines

Much of what has been done, especially in anthropology, to study different cultural groups falls into the category of descriptive studies. Sometimes a single case is done and sometimes comparative studies of two or more groups or societies is attempted. Margaret Mead's Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies[25] is an example of a comparative descriptive study. Case studies in social research are usually of groups, organizations, neighborhoods, small communities, societies and nations, but often also of individuals. The study of the power structure in Atlanta by Floyd Hunter[26] in which the group leaders were studied as a sub-community in relation to the white power structure is an example of a case study of a community.

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[24] Mahesh Sharma, "Decision-Making Patterns of Older Americans in the Use of Their Resources," Final Report. National Catholic School of Social Service, Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.: October 1976.

The larger the entity, the more likelihood of enough data and variables for the quantification of some aspects, such as income, group activity, beliefs, values, attitudes and church attendance. Middletown, U.S.A. is an example of a study of a small Midwestern community which contained both qualitative and quantitative aspects. It would be difficult to find isolated communities of pure ethnic types in the United States, although the Amish sect in Pennsylvania could provide the kind of exclusivity required for this type of research.

Robert Redfield discusses a major polarity in anthropology, which is relevant to any study of ethnicity, i.e. whether the purpose is to write histories or to do scientific analyses. Histories requires reconstructing reality within its unique context and then comparing that phenomena with the totality of conceptual findings. In science, phenomena are abstracted into concepts which can be tested as theoretical propositions. Redfield discusses several models, including the natural science model, which is that of testing and predicting through statistical analyses. He thinks that, in the future, anthropologists will seek to use the scientific model similar to the disciplines of psychology and sociology.[27]

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[25] Margaret Mead, Sex and Temperment in Three Primitive Societies, (New York: Mentor Books, 1950).

[26] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1963).

The seventy-five research studies on ethnicity reported in the literature and reviewed by the grant staff, indicated that the scientific researchers of ethnicity come from many fields; primarily sociology, psychology, education and anthropology, in descending order of magnitude. The vast majority of studies were done in the real world as only three were carried out in laboratory settings. Approximately fifty-one of the studies were field studies involving actual interviewing or testing of respondents, ten were done through use of available materials and nine were surveys, using mailed questionnaires and census data.

These researchers were mostly looking for associations between psychosocial variables and ethnicity. The studies could be categorized as correlational studies in which quantitative and scientific techniques were used to test hypotheses. Approximately fourteen of the studies were descriptive-quantitative and thirty-seven were inferential. It is apparent that anthropological field studies are not the most commonly used methodology for studying ethnicity, but that most of the researchers are relying on scientific models.

Types of research studies and social work research

It is important to discuss the various types of research studies and their particular usefulness for problems of interest to social workers in the area of ethnicity. Four types of studies--case studies, descriptive surveys, correlational field studies and experimental studies--will be discussed for their application to social work research in ethnicity.

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[27] Redfield, 454-464.

Case studies (qualitative-descriptive)

While case studies are rich in descriptive information and necessary for the understanding of groups or communities, this type of study could be seen as part of the assessment phase of social work intervention and may be properly undertaken in the practice and theory sequence. At NCSSS, the generic first year methods classes include a study of the community in which the student is placed. Factors involved in the study are of values, beliefs, social structures, socio-economic variables and organizational structures. This assessment would include a study of racial and ethnic groups if they constituted a major element in the community.

Any research done in the area of ethnicity should start with some descriptive materials obtained from informants, observations and available materials, regarding various aspects of the particular cultural entities involved. This is necessary so that the researcher may know both what is feasible and what is important to study. The culture and role of Chinese health professionals as they interact with multi-ethnic clients was studied by Harkness[28]. This case study provides an interesting model for the study of social work professionals with ethnic clients.

Surveys - (qualitative and quantitative-descriptive)

One of the major methodologies utilized by researchers in all fields for the study of cultural entities is that of surveys. A survey can be used to study: (1) a community and its ethnic components, (2) an ethnic group which may be concentrated in an area, and (3) an ethnic group which is geographically spread over a wide area. Most often, religion or race are used as cultural variables in polls or surveys done by commercial researchers, such as the Harris Poll on the elderly[29]. In order to study ethnicity in this manner, it would be necessary to obtain a cross section, representative of a specific ethnic group, in order to have enough persons in the sample. The use of surveys for community organizers and planners is a necessary first step in assessing a problem or a community. Social planning efforts in communities or neighborhoods with strong ethnic groups should certainly be preceded by a survey as to the nature and extent of these groups and their needs, issues and values. This type of information can be fed into family casework agencies so that their personnel could better understand the environmental factors of their clients problems.

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[28] Ellen G. Harkness, "Culture and Role of Chinese Professionals with Multi-Ethnic Clients," (1973), Dissertation Abstracts International 34 (6-B), O.N. 73-28,794, p. 2428.

Field studies - (quantitative-descriptive and inferential)

Field studies using quantitative techniques are the most productive area of research on ethnicity for social workers. This includes correlational, causal-comparative and quasi-experimental models which attempt to show the relationship between variables or differences between groups. In most of these studies, groups and their attributes are taken as they are, and there is no manipulation of the independent variables or random assignment to treatment and control groups.

Studies of attitudes of social workers towards ethnic groups, of intergenerational conflicts, of social work interventions and agency practices can be studied in this manner. Levine[30] studied the ethnic subgroups in Toronto and the modes of intervention, and discovered the need for utilizing different modalities for different subgroups in the community. Turner's study of the value differences between clients with Polish-Ukranian, French-Canadian and Anglo-Saxon backgrounds and of the relationship of values to interview content in a family service agency, is a good example of the combination of the use of descriptive material from case records and quantitative methodology in a field study[31].

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[29] Louis Harris and Associates, The Myth and Reality of Aging in America, (Washington, D.C.: The National Council on Aging, 1975).

[30] Saul V. Levine, "The Inner City: Settings, Subgroups, Psychopathology and Service," American Journal of Orthpsychiatry 41 (1) (July 1972): 9-47.

Experimental -(quantitative and inferential)

The difficultues of utilizing experimental designs in studying social work interventions are manifold and well-known to social researchers. Most often, there cannot be random assignment of persons to treatment and non-treatment groups because dispositions are made on the basis of diagnosis. It might be possible to assign members of one ethnic group to various types of interventive approaches, if the members of the groups can be matched on other relevant variables. Control of extraneous variables other than the experimental variable is difficult in field experiments.

No studies useful to social workers were unearthed through review of the literature that could be strictly classified as experimental. One study of the attitudes and adjustments of institutionalized and non-institutionalized Catholic aged might qualify as quasi-experimental if matched subjects could be obtained.[32]

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[31] Francis J. Turner, "Social Work Treatment and Value Differences: An Exploration of Value Differences and Specific Use of Casework Techniques with Clients from Three Ethnic Groups Receiving Treatment in Family Agencies," 1973, Dissertation Abstracts International 24 (5) O.N. 63-73436, p. 2177.

[32] J. Richard Lepkowski, "The Attitudes and Adjustments of Institutionalized and Non-institutionalized Catholic Aged," (1954), Dissertation Abstracts International 15: p. 287.

Methods of data collection

Methods of data collection can include observation, informants, interviews, questionnaires, tests, scales, projective tests, sociograms and content analysis of available materials. Anthropologists have utilized the informant, unstructured interviews, observations and personal documents to study ethnicity. Sociologists have tended to use the more structured forms of interview, questionnaires and public documents. Psychologists more often tend to use structured questionnaires, scales, tests and projective tests to collect data.

The types of data collection methods used in the seventy-five research studies in ethnicity reviewed by the grant staff were very diverse. Some researchers used many methods. For instance in a study of food practices of Hungarians, observations, available records, public opinion surveys and informants were used as methods of data collection.[33] In a study of Israeli immigrant children at a boarding school, researchers used interviews, questionnaires, projective essays, census data and historical documents.[34] There was a noticeable tendency for researchers to use questionnaires, tests and scales with students or persons with college education, regardless of ethnic group.

The following methods of data collection were used by the researchers in the articles on ethnicity abstracted for this grant:

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[33] Molly G. Schuchat, "Hungarian Refugees in American and Their Counterparts in Hungary: The Interrelations Between Cosmopolitanism and Ethnicity," (1970), Dissertation Abstracts International 32 No. 71-23,400: p. 485.

[34] Philip Wexler, "Children of the Immigrants: A Study of Education, Ethnicity, and Change in Israel," Doctoral Dissertation, Princeton University, 1972.

Table 1

Semi-structured interviews	19
Questionnaires	14
Scales or Inventories	11
Tests	7
Observations	6
Content Analyses	6
Projective tests	4
Sociograms	1
Informants	1

The trend definitely seems to be away from unstructured observations and interviews to more structured types of interviews and tests. The problems of validity due to ethnic language differences were not discussed in detail in the studies reviewed.

Interviewing

Because anthropologists have tended to emphasize the study of remote cultures that have no written records and in which cultural traditions are transmitted by word-of-mouth, the use of informants, observations and informal interviewing techniques have been developed as the major techniques.[35] The use of informants to provide insight and knowledge of the culture and social structure can be a useful technique for social work research on ethnicity. The informant provides biased data which is not representative of the group, but his knowledge can provide the basis for more structured and objective information gathering. The problem with informal methods of gathering data is that these techniques do not yield objective comparative data to assess the differences between groups and to test hypotheses.

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[35] Audrey L. Richards, "The Development of Field Work Methods in Social Anthropology," in Bartlett, et al (eds.), The Study of Society (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co. Ltd., 1939).

The use of informal or semi-structured interviewing techniques can be one way to obtain an oral history of a particular ethnic group, especially where members may be old and illiterate. One student at NCSSS studied Jewish immigrants in this fashion and it helped her to achieve greater insights into her own cultural heritage.[36]

Observations

Direct observation may be used to validate information obtained through interviews or as a quantitative methodology to test hypotheses. In order to validate information, the researcher must become involved with the ethnic group he or she is studying as a participant observer at formal and informal occasions. Visits to the homes of families, parties, meetings and various ceremonies can provide rich insights into the group.

Participant observational techniques have been used by social researchers to obtain data not likely to be obtained by structured interviews or questionnaires. One of the recent classics in the field is Five Families[37] by Oscar Lewis. The researcher lived in the homes of five Mexican families and observed their behavior and culture first hand. While this may lead to some distortion due to the presence of the researcher, it is the only way to learn about family interaction in real situations.

According to Bruyn, the participant observer views the world phenomenologically as though things were happening to him for the first time. Bruyn uses

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[36] Deborah Bartnoff, "An Oral History of East European Jewish Immigrants," Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1976.

[37] Oscar Lewis, Five Families, (New York: Basic Books, 1959.)

Freud and Alexis de Tocqueville as examples of brilliant thinkers who used a form of participant observation, and not empirical research, as a way to develop profound insights about man and society. Bruyn emphasizes that the participant observer seeks to locate particular meanings shared through communication and can record these meanings accurately because of his own involvement and identification with the cultural symbols important to the people he studies.[38]

Participant observation can best be used by social work researchers to obtain data on which to base structured categories of observations which can later be quantified and used to test hypotheses. For instance, observations of the treatment of persons of different ethnic background in an outpatient clinic can be further validated with information from the clinic records and through structured interviews.

Questionnaires, scales and test

Utilization of these methods is most appropriate when the subjects of the study are literate and are used to taking tests. Since many European groups have a high degree of literacy, this may be the most appropriate way for obtaining quantifiable and comparative data. The major problem is one of validity. If the group being studied is more facile in another language than that of the researcher, it may be necessary that both structured interviews and questionnaires be translated into the native language and validated for the particular groups. In a study of ethnicity and the aged at NCSSS (1976-78)[39] both English and foreign language questionnaires are being used. Interviewers have to speak the language of the ethnic group they are studying.

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[38] Severyn T. Bruyn, The Human Perspective In Sociology, (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1966).

[39] NCSSS, "Informal and Formal Support Systems." To be published.

Vernon[40] thinks that research instruments that are constructed for use in one country have to be modified and restandardized for use in another country. He thinks that the problems of social desirability could be ethnically bound and require special pre-testing with ethnic groups. The problems of the cultural specificity of intelligence tests are well-known and shall not be discussed here.[41]

Content analysis of available materials

The content analysis of available materials can yield a rich source of data regarding ethnic culture and history. The sources are many, including: personal documents, such as diaries and letters; public documents, such as minutes, agency reports, newspaper articles, laws, regulations, official histories and autobiographies; and confidential records, such as case records, confidential reports and stenographic records. Works of fiction, both poems and stories, can also yield ricn data.[42]

Gottschalk states that personal documents are human, personal and subjective reactions to life events.[43] Robert Angell thinks that personal documents can be used to develop and test hypotheses. Angell provides examples of use of personal documents to study delinquency, slavery, suicide and adaption of immigrants to American life. He states however that when Samuel Stouffer compared both written accounts of experiences and ratings of attitudes about drinking, he found that both methods were highly reliable and highly correlated.[44]

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[40] P. E. Vernon, "Questionnaires, Attitude tests and Rating Scales," in Bartlett, et al, 199-229, The Study of Society,

[41] S. F. Nadel, "The Interview Technique in Social Anthropology," in Bartlett, et al, 184-198, The Study of Society.

[42] Louis Gottschalk, "The Historian and Historical Document," in Gottschalk, Kluckhohn and Angell, (eds), The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology, (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1945).

[43] Ibid., 13.

The problems of quantification, laboriousness and reliability in the use of available documents must be balanced with that of authenticity and intimacy that cannot otherwise be gained. Kerlinger[45] provides a useful outline for categorizing and quantifying available materials through content analysis which makes these materials more useful for research purposes. Social workers have a natural source in agency case records which can provide consideration regarding attitudes, feelings and behaviors of ethnically different clients and the social worker's reactions to them.

Projective tests

Projective tests, such as the Thematic Apperception Test, the Rorschach, stories, drawings and pictures may be one way to overcome the cultural bias and language problems of written tests, but the problem of bias on the part of test interpreters would still be extant. It would be difficult to obtain persons from different cultures who were well-trained in the interpretation of projective tests.

In a study of the effect of race or ethnic group membership on the drawing of a human figure test, a projective test used to assess personality, Harris found significant differences between the various ethnic groups. Harris concluded that norms from Anglo-American cannot be applied to other groups and that norms for these groups need to be established independently.[46]

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[44] Robert Angell, "A Critical Review of the Development of the Personal Document Method in Sociology, 1920-1940," In Gottschalk et al (eds.), The Use of Personal Documents. (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1945), 177-320.

[45] Fred Kerlinger, Foundations of Behavioral Research. (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1964).

"Insider" status of the researcher

One of the major issues in research on culturally varied groups is whether or not the researcher and interviewer should be of the same ethnic group as those being studied. Robert Merton calls this the "insider-outsider" controversy and provides an excellent discussion of the issues on both sides.[47] Several other researchers have discussed the stranger or outsider role of the researcher in ethnic studies.[48]

Nadel believes that the researcher is defined by the native group as an outsider on the basis of racial and social differences. Nadel thinks that the fact that the observer is outside the native culture allows him to be more objective. Oeser thinks that since he is a stranger and will disappear he can obtain certain statements about customs and ceremonies which might not be divulged to a man of the same culture.[49]

Robert Merton describes the extreme position of the insider argument in that only Blacks can study Blacks, only women can study women, only Poles, the Polish and so on. This has primarily derived from Black ethnologists and ethnocentristic philosophies that claim priviledged access to social truth, not available to nonmembers. Kolm believes that, in studies involving cultural meanings, only one who speaks the same language can achieve the intimate knowledge and understanding of what the interviewee has to communicate. In agreement with Dollard and Miller[50], Kolm also believes that it is easier to train the insider to become objective than to train the outsider to become an insider.[51]

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[46] Louis B. Harris, "Effect of Racial or Ethnic Group and Sex on the Drawing of a Human Figure," Dissertation (1975), Dissertation Abstracts International 35 (6-B) No. 74-28,265, p. 3016.

[47] Merton, "Insiders and Outsiders."

[48] S. F. Nadel, "The Interview,"; Dennison Nash, "The Ethnologist as Stranger: An Essay in the Sociology of Knowledge," Southwestern Journal of Anthropology 19 (1963): 149-167; Peggy Golde, ed. Women in the Field, (Chicago: Aldine, 1970).; Benjamin D. Paul, "Interview Techniques and Field Relationships," In A. L. Kroeber, (ed.), Anthropology Today, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953(.; John Dollard and Neale Miller, Social Learning and Imitation, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).; Saul V. Levine, "The Inner City,".

[49] O. A. Oeser, "The Value of Team Work and Functional Penetration as Methods in Social Investigation," In Bartlett, et al (eds.), 402-417, The Study of Society.

Merton cites some well-known studies on America, such as De Tocqueville's Democracy in America and Gunnar Myrdal's An American Dilemma,[52] both outsiders who were able to make astute observations about racial and social problems in America precisely because they were detached from the loyalties to America. It was however noted that Myrdal brought Black "insider scholars into his circle of associates in the study of Negro life and culture."[53] Levine[54] suggests that insiders and outsiders work as a team. Vernon recommends that in order to overcome the problem of cultural differences between the researcher and the groups being studied, the investigator should: (1) discuss the field of inquiry with many persons of divergent opinions and backgrounds, (2) formulate the research problem with several persons familiar with the subjects under study, and (3) test out the questionnaire on small groups of persons for clarity.[55]

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[50] John Dollard and Neale Miller, Social Learning and Imitation, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941).

[51] Richard Kolm, Personal communication, May 1977.

[52] Alexis De Tocqueville, Democracy in America, (New York: Knopf, 1945).; Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma, (New York: Larper & Brothers, 1944).

[53] Merton, "Insiders and Outsiders."

[54] Levine, "Inner City."

[55] Vernon, "Questionnaires," 207.

The best solution to the problems of validity of data collection appears to be that the researcher and his/her associates should immerse themselves in the cultural group to be studied and retain as partners, consultants, advisors, and interviewers persons of similar linguistic and ethnic background as the groups being studied. The utilization of indigenous workers in a neighborhood should be limited to those who are of the same background, but not known to the respondents. People might not want to reveal to insiders who are neighbors what they might reveal to an ethnically similar person who is unknown to them.

Integration of Ethnicity into the Social Work Research Curriculum

Students usually begin to derive research problems from the knowledge gained through life experiences, the other parts of the social work curriculum and through their field work experiences. The extent to which they recognize ethnicity either as a subject for study or a variable influencing human behavior is related to the extent this is emphasized in their human behavior, social policy and methods classes, particularly in the first year. The initial integration of ethnicity into the research curriculum begins in their other classes.

It is important therefore that research on ethnicity would be utilized in the various parts of the social work curriculum. Studies of comparative societies and customs taken from anthropology could easily be used in the human behavior sequence. Research studies, such as the one already mentioned by Levine could be integrated into the social policy course. Zborowski's study[56] about the ethnic specificity in the reaction to pain is used in the course on Social Work in the Health and Mental Health Fields, taught by this writer at NCSSS. The lack of scientific hypothesis-testing studies on the effectiveness of the modes of social work intervention with ethnic groups means that case studies, despite their limited capacity for being generalized, must still be used in the methods courses.

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[56] Zborowski, "Cultural Components in Response to Pain." Social Perspectives on Behavior in H.D. Stein and R. Cloward, eds. (New York: The Free Press, 1958), 145-146.

Integration in the research curriculum

The research sequence in a school of social work comprises three aspects: (1) the learning of the research process, (2) learning about data analysis and interpretation, and (3) the empirical testing of a research question. The first two phases are the most appropriate for introducing the importance of ethnicity as a subject or as a variable. In teaching the research process, the basic way to introduce ethnicity as a topic is simply to provide examples or research problems, questions and hypotheses in which ethnicity is relevant. Ethnicity could be used as an independent variable in research questions as race and religion are often used.

Some examples of research questions which might be used as teaching examples are:

1. Is there a difference between first and second generation Japanese-Americans in the utilization of formal or informal support systems for social and psychological problems?
2. Does the type of social work intervention used by an agency affect the length of stay in treatment differently for different ethnic groups? Does the ethnic status of the social worker make a difference?
3. Can educational sessions regarding specific ethnic groups change the attitudes, perceptions and behavior of school personnel towards students who are members of the group?
4. Do diagnostic classifications by social workers vary depending on racial or ethnic identity of either workers or clients and do these classifications correlate with psychological tests?
5. Are social work perceptions of extended family relationships the same

or different than those of Polish-American clients?

6. Are there social work interventive techniques that are more effective with one ethnic group than another?

7. What are the factors associated with the utilization of community mental health centers?

8. Are the present strategies for obtaining citizen participation in social planning effective in obtaining representation from all ethnic groups?

In teaching data collection methods, students could be asked to do some informal observing on a street corner in an ethnic neighborhood or attend ethnic ceremonies and make categorical observations of participation customs. Asking the same questions of members of ethnic groups, first in English and then in the language they know best and looking for subtleties of differences in responses, would also be a good exercise in the meaning of validity.

In the data analyses classes, it is quite common to use health, income, sex, race, religion and education in teaching basic types of statistics, as though these were the only variables that mattered. This is done to the extent that students get the idea that they are important in every type of study. Social work research educators should be careful to match the type of variables to the type of question. Introducing ethnicity as a variable in teaching statistics should only be done where it makes sense conceptually to do so.

Examples of research questions, analyses and interpretations

In this part of the report, each of the research questions will be used to illustrate how to integrate ethnicity into the research courses. The questions and the data analyses provide examples that educators can use in the classroom. Only the briefest of statements regarding the type of study, design or data collection methods is provided in the interest of space.

EXAMPLE 1

Research Question: Is there a difference between the first and second generation Japanese-Americans in the utilization of formal or informal support systems for social and/or emotional problems?

Type of Study: Correlational field study testing for an association between the type of Support System and Generational Status in one ethnic group. This would require a fairly large representative sample of both first and second generation Japanese-Americans in one city in order to obtain sufficient numbers who had used agency services.

Type of Data Analysis: Chi Square analysis using frequency data, but limited to two variables at a time, which would not allow testing of differences between social and emotional problem behaviors at the same time. Phi correlation coefficient is used to test the magnitude of the relationship.

TYPE OF SUPPORT SYSTEM USED BY JAPANESE-AMERICAN
FIRST AND SECOND GENERATIONS FOR HELP WITH
EMOTIONAL PROBLEMS, LOS ANGELES, 1960

Generation	Type of Intervention		
	Formal	Informal	Total
First	15	35	50
Second	35	15	50
Total	50	50	100

$x^2 = 16.0$ $p < .01$ Ø = 0.40

Interpretation: There is a moderately strong relationship between the generational status of Japanese-Americans and their use of formal and informal support systems for help with emotional problems. The second generation Japanese-Americans tend to use formal sources, while the first generation tends to use the informal support system.

EXAMPLE 2

Research Question: Does the type of social work intervention used by an agency affect the length of stay in treatment differently for different ethnic groups?

Type of Study: Quasi-experimental Field Study; no random selection or assignment; intervention groups act as control; measurements after intervention of number of weeks (sessions) of treatment.

Type of Data Analysis: Analysis of Variance, F test, Schiffe test for differences between group means for significant F.

TYPE OF INTERVENTION AND LENGTH OF STAY IN TREATMENT
FOR DIFFERENT ETHNIC GROUPS, FAMILY SERVICE AGENCY

Ethnic group	Type of Intervention			Row means
	Task	Group therapy	Counseling	
Black	50[a]	10	15	25
Mexican-American	10	30	10	17
Anglo-Saxon	25	25	25	25
Column means	28	22	17	22 = Grand mean

[a] Numbers represent group means for number of weeks, one session per week.

Results: Type of Intervention, $F = 8.6$, $p < .05$

Ethnic Groups, $F = 10.8$, $p < .01$

Interaction-type of Intervention and Ethnicity, $F = 7.5$, $p < .05$

Interpretation: There is a relationship between the type of intervention and the ethnic group membership in terms of the length of stay in treatment. Mexicans-Americans have a lower retention rate than other groups. Schiffe tests for differences between group means (not shown) indicates that the task orientation appears to maintain blacks in treatment longer than other methods. The length of stay of Anglo-Saxons appears to be unaffected by type of treatment. It would be important to know whether the ethnic status of the social workers made any difference in the length of stay. This would require further analysis.

EXAMPLE 3

Research Question: Can educational sessions regarding specific ethnic groups change the attitudes of school personnel of one ethnic group towards students who are members of another ethnic group?

Type of Study: Experimental design with a control group of non-attenders drawn from a random sample of teachers who are randomly assigned to attend and not attend orientation sessions. Before and after measures of attitudes towards the other ethnic group.

Research Design:

		Before Attitudes	Orientation	After Attitudes	Attitude Change
R	Group 1				
	Group 2				

Type of Data Analysis: Student's t test for the difference between means of change scores of attenders vs. non attenders.*

Results: $M_1 = 10$, $M_2 = 2$, $t = 3.2$, df - 23, $p < .01$

Interpretation: Persons attending orientation sessions about an ethnic group significantly changed their attitudes towards members of that group in a positive direction in comparison with teachers who did not attend orientation sessions.

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*Analysis of variance for repeated measures could also be used. See B. J. Winer, Statistical Principles in Experimental Design, (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1971)

EXAMPLE 4

Research Question: Do diagnostic classification of social workers vary depending on the racial or ethnic identity of the clients?

Type of Study: Correlational Field Study using content analyses of case records and standardized tests. Testing the relationship of type of diagnostic classification and ethnic group membership. Three ethnic groups and four diagnostic classifications.

Type of Data Analysis: Chi Square to test whether there is a relationship between social work diagnosis and ethnic group status.

RELATIONSHIP OF CASEWORK DIAGNOSTIC CLASSIFICATION AND

ETHNIC GROUP STATUS, COMMUNITY MENTAL HEALTH CENTER

PHILADELPHIA, 1974

	Type of Ethnic Group			
Diagnostic Classification	Black	Anglo	Italian	Total
Depression	5	15	5	25
Aggression	25	10	20	55
Dependence	10	20	20	50
Psychosis	20	10	5	35
Total	60	55	50	165

Results: df = 6, $X^2 = 27.7$, $p < .001$, $\varnothing = 0.41$

Interpretation: Blacks are more likely to be classified as either aggressive or psychotic, whereas Anglos are more likely to be classified as depressed or dependent. Italians are more likely to be classified as aggressive or dependent and least likely to be classified as depressed or psychotic. There is a moderately strong relationship between casework diagnostic classification and ethnic or racial group membership of the client group as evidenced by a Phi Correlation of 0.41.

EXAMPLE 5

Research Question: Are social worker's perceptions of ideal extended family relationships the same or different from those of Polish-American clients?

Type of Study: Correlational field study, utilizing Index of Familialism for testing differences between two groups, caseworkers and clients in degree of belief in intensity of familialism; controlling for age, income, sex, education, and generational-immigrant status through sampling selection and type of analysis.

Type of Analysis: Analysis of Variance to look at several factors, plus interactive effects of several variables on the dependent variable, Intensity of Familialism.*

RELATIONSHIP OF GROUP STATUS, SEX AND AGE ON FAMILIALISM
POLISH-AMERICAN CLIENTS AND SOCIAL WORKERS, CHICAGO, 1967

	Group Status and Sex			
Age	Social Workers		Polish-Americans	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Under 30				
30 - 45	y = Scores on Familialism Scale			
Over 45				

Results: Significant F ratios were obtained for Social workers and Polish-Americans with highest means for Polish-Americans. Significant F ratios were obtained for age groups with the highest means for older persons. Significant interactive effects for group status and age. No other significant interactions were found.

Interpretation: Polish-Americans have stronger beliefs in the need for extended family relationships than do caseworkers. Older persons have stronger beliefs in intensive extended family relationships than younger persons. Being Polish and elderly results in the strongest belief in strong family relationships.

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*Robert F. Winch; Scott Greer; and Rae L. Blumber, "Ethnicity, Familialism in an Upper-Middle Class Suburb," In Delbert C. Miller (ed.), 81-96, Handbook of Research of Design and Social Measurement, (New York: David McKay Co., 1970).

EXAMPLE 6

Research Question: Are there social work interventive techniques that are more effective with one ethnic group than another?

Type of Study: Quasi-experimental field study; Before and After Design with random assignment or matching on critical variables; tested for differences in behavior before and after treatment between inpatient and outpatient groups, and within each ethnic group of Irish and Italians. Both drug-taking behavior and other anti-social behavior would be assessed before and after treatment and again at six months.

ASSESSMENT OF EFFECTS TO TWO DIFFERENT TREATMENT MODALITIES

WITH IRISH AND ITALIAN DRUG ABUSERS

Group	Before	Treatment	After	Followup
Irish	Y_{b1}	Inpatient(1)	Y_{a1}	Y_{f1}
	Y_{b2}	Outpatient(2)	Y_{a2}	Y_{f2}
Italian	Y_{b3}	Inpatient(3)	Y_{a3}	Y_{f3}
	Y_{b4}	Outpatient(4)	Y_{a4}	Y_{f4}

Data Analysis: Measures before treatment can be compared with both measures taken after treatment and those after six months. Comparisons can be made of degrees of change between different ethnic groups on the same type of treatment. Analysis of Variance and Student's test can be used to compare group differences.

Interpretation: Interpretation would have to be cautiously done due to the lack of control groups and lack of control of extraneous variance for the followup group and differences in treatment situations, even though the type of treatment is the same.

EXAMPLE 7

Research Question: What are the factors associated with utilization of community mental health centers?

Type of Study: Ex post facto, correlational field study. Both those using and those not using the mental health center would have to be tested for a variety of factors which have been noted in the literature as relevant to use of mental health centers. Ethnicity is one possible variable, this study would only be relevant in areas of a high concentration of two or more ethnic groups.

Type of Analysis: Multiple Correlation and Regression of Independent Variables of: age, ethnic identity, sex, income, education, location, and employment. Chi Square analysis might have to be used to look at the differences in utilization between ethnic groups.

MULTIPLE REGRESSION

Variable by Order of Entry	r	MR	R^2	P
Income	-0.65	0.65	0.42	.0001
Spanish	-0.25	0.70	0.49	.01
Sex	0.20	0.75	0.56	.05
Education	-0.44	0.76	0.58	n.s.

Interpretation: Low income is the most important predictor of the use of the mental health center, explaining 42% of the variance in use of the center. Whether one is Spanish or not also influences utilization. Being Spanish is negatively associated with the use of the center, but only adds 7% to the variance explained by income. The factors of income, Spanish, and sex are all correlated with utilization and together explain 56% of the variance in utilization. The effect of education is reduced to insignificance by the effects of income.

EXAMPLE 8

Research Question: Are present strategies for obtaining citizen participation in social planning efforts effective to obtain representation from all ethnic groups?

Type of Study: Descriptive Field Study. Comparison of proportion of ethnic group membership in the community with proportion of ethnic group representatives on community planning councils. Survey of community for ethnic group membership status. Content analysis of records of public agencies.

Type of Analysis: Tests for difference between proportions of various groups in community with membership in social planning councils.

Group	Community	Planning Councils	Z	p
Anglo-Saxon	65%	85%	3.5	.01
Spanish	15%	2%	3.4	.01
Italians	10%	10%	0.0	n.s.
Other	10%	3%	2.0	.05

Interpretation: Anglo-Saxons are significantly over-represented on planning councils in proportion to their presence in the community. Spanish-speaking persons are significantly under-represented in planning councils and Italians are represented in proportion to their presence in the community. Present strategies for obtaining citizen representation on planning councils is ineffective in obtaining proportionate representation from various ethnic groups. Caution should be used in the interpretation of these results because of factors such as education and transportation which should be controlled for.

Summary and Implications

The general relationship of ethnicity to the research curriculum was analyzed. The various aspects to consider when planning to emphasize ethnicity in the social work research curriculum were outlined. Research topics appropriate to social work research and to other disciplines on ethnicity were suggested. The problems of measurement, and the problem of obtaining sufficient numbers of any ethnic group was discussed. The applicability of various types of research studies and methods of data collection in social work research on ethnicity was analyzed. Suggestions were made for integration of ethnicity into the various phases of the social work research curiculum. Examples of eight research questions and the types of study analysis and interpretation were provided.

The introduction of ethnicity into the social work research curriculum depends in great part on the integration of ethnicity into the human behavior, social policy and methods sequences early in the first year. Ideas and experiences gained in the field and the classroom then become problems or topics of interest for research. Social Work research educators also need to be sensitized to the importance of ethnicity as a major factor affecting people's attitudes and behavior. Once sensitized, the natural process of illustrating research questions, types of studies and data analyses and interpretation related to ethnicity should follow. The examples prepared in this paper can help to provide suggestions on how to integrate ethnicity into the social work research curriculum.

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CHAPTER 7

THE INTEGRATION OF ETHNICITY INTO SOCIAL WORK EDUCATION

by
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The Integration of Ethnicity into Social Work Education

David Guttmann, DSW

> Someone once told Rabbi Mendel that a certain person was greater than another whom he also mentioned by name. Rabbi Mendel replied: "If I am I because I am I, and you are you, because you are you, then I am I, and you are you. But if I am I because you are you, and you are you because I am I, then I am not I, and you are not you."
>
> Martin Buber

Introduction

The new legitimacy and vitality accorded by American society to ethnicity caught the profession of social work by surprise. Ethnicity, which has been always implicit in social work education and practice, all of a sudden was heralded by disciplines other than social work. A testimony to our profession's notorious "time lag" regarding ethnicity was given by the 1965 publication of the Encyclopedia of Social Work which failed to mention ethnicity as a category worthy of description. To "add insult to injury," immigrants and immigration were treated under the heading "Aliens," as if they were an unwelcome burden. Today, just a few years since the newest edition of the Encyclopedia of Social Work was published (1971)[1] It is hard to realize that this definitive work also did not contain any article on ethnicity, nor did it carry a paper on cultural pluralism in America.

Until recently, ethnic differences in client behavior were accorded rather scant attention in professional literature. An extensive review of the social sciences literature, with specific emphasis on social work, reveals that the majority of the ethnic groups living in America received only cursory reviews by social scientists. While the largest minorities in the U.S. have been "covered" sufficiently well, for example Black-Americans 46 articles, Jews 43, Italians 34, Irish and Poles 26 each and Mexican-Americans by 15 reviews, 15 ethnic groups ranging from Appalachian natives to Ukrainians received only one review or article about them. Furthermore, some ethnic groups, such as the Estonians, Latvians, Bulgarians and Macedonians were not even mentioned in any of the reviewed works. Social work research was seldom directed toward studying ethnic differences in client and agency perceptions about services and programs. Rather it was, in effect, limited to conditions and policies aimed at strenthening the status quo. Scientific inquiry of ethnicity was carried out mainly by other disciplines leaving social work far behind.

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[1] Encyclopedia of Social Work, New York: National Association of Social, 1971.

The omission of scientific investigation into ethnicity as a powerful determinant of human behavior is unfortunate, considering the persistence of ethnic lifestyles in the United States[2] and its continued influence on group and individual perceptions of self, others and society.

The fact that ethnicity has been a cornerstone in social work practice from the beginning is attested by the history of the profession. At the end of the last century there came a generation which began to struggle to make city life more tolerable with a new hope that the application of science would solve the fundamental difficulties. Out of the striving for greater justice and humanity came an understanding of the interdependence of society. Behind the determination to alleviate the sufferings caused by poverty, and to enlighten the "ignorant" and "uncultured" were certain ethical beliefs identical with those which fathered our democratic form of government. These were related to the newly reawakened spirit of scientific inquiry, and stimulated concern about social evils and society's responsilibity for the individual.

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[2] R.L. Kolodny, "Ethnic Cleavages in the United States: An Historical Reminder to Social Workers," Social Work 14 (1), 1969, 13-23.

Towards the end of the 19th century Arnold Toynbee, Edward Dennison and Samuel Bartlett found themselves making experiments in universal friendliess and a sharing of their educational advantages. Later Robert Woods, Jane Addams, Lilian Wald, Graham Taylor, and their associates, began to express a new social conscience in the United States. Their ideas spread into other parts of the world, and had become a lasting influence on the profession of social work.

Jane Addams[3], founder of the famous Hull House in Chicago, said that three great motives influenced the social progress in the late 19th century: (1) the desire to make the entire social organism democratic and to extend democracy beyond its political expression; (2) the motivation to enable immigrants to absorb the existing culture of the host society, and (3) the renaissance of Christianity and a movement toward its early humanitarian aspects. These three motives need to be taken into consideration in studying the concept of ethnicity in social work education with the aim of their possible integration into the curriculum.

The recent awakening, or rather reawakening, of the profession from its long lethargy concerning its roles and opportunities with regards to ethnicity poses some problems for social work education. For ethnicity to be properly dealt with in the curriculum requires conscious change in both attitudes and action in the classroom and in the settings where social work is practiced.

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[3] Jane Addams, "The Subjective Necessity for Social Settlements," Philanthropy and Social Progress, (College Park, Md: McGrath Publishing Co., 1969.

Purpose and definition

This paper has a twofold purpose: First, it focuses on the concept of identity as the basis for understanding ethnicity. Second, it offers some models for potential guidelines in integrating ethnicity into the curriculum.

Ethnicity may be defined as an attempt of the ethnic group to perpetuate some of its characteristic modes of behavior through successive generations,[4] while an ethnic group is a distinct category of the population in a larger society whose culture is usually different from its own. The members of such a group are, or feel themselves, or are thought to be, bound together by common ties of race or nationality or culture.[5]

Awareness, sensitivity and acceptance of cultural differences are essential to social workers in order to function as effective professionals. In addition to receptiveness regarding ethnicity as an external factor, the social worker needs to be aware of his/her own ethnicity as an important component in personal identity. This observation is an extension of Charlotte Towle's[6] statement that awareness of identity as a form of self knowledge, is viewed as a prerequisite for developing a professional identity. An elaboration of the concept of identity will, therefore, follow.

The concept of identity

In discussing ethnicity, reference is made to the uniqueness of the person and to the recognition of personality as a psychological unit built by the accumulation of experience. It is important to emphasize that the types of manifestations that characterize a particular life will depend upon the avenues and the values that are open to the individual concerned. Among the three giants of psychoanalysis, Freud, Adler and Jung, it was Alder who emphasized the importance of the social areas that shape and modify personality. Adler[7] explained that society helps to actualize these potentialities--there is a reciprocal relationship between society and the individual. A well developed individual, through achieving his goals within the limits of cultural norms, helps society to further its aims.

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[4] Richard Kolm, "Ethnicity and the Ethnic Family in American Social Work," Paper presented at conference, The American Family: Continuing Impact of Ethnicity, Catholic University, Washington, D.C., April 4-5, 1977.

[5] H.S. Morris, "Ethnic Groups," International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences 3, David Sills, ed., New York: The MacMillen Co. & The Free Press, 1968.

[6] Charlotte Towle, The Learner in Education for the Professions, Chicago: The Univ. of Chicago Press, 1954.

Self-esteem is closely related to the concept of self-actualization and to individual identity. Historically, it was Aristotle[8] who proposed first the importance of self-actualization for the maintenance of higher morale. Jung and Rogers have expanded on Aristotle's proposition. Rogers[9] claims that as a result of interactions with the environment, the organism gradually differentiates a portion of the continuously changing phenomenal sphere as his "self". Values may become attached to the experiences and also to the self. When all of the ways in which the individual perceives himself/herself, and the relationships with others are accepted into the organized conscious concept of the self, then this achievement is accompanied by feelings of comfort and freedom from tension, which are experiences of psychological adjustment.

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[7] Alfred Adler, Understanding Human Nature, Greenwich, Conn.: A Fawcett Premier Book, 1954.

[8] Aristotle, On Man in the Universe, Roslyn, N.Y.: Walter J. Black, Inc., 1943.

[9] C.R. Rogers, "Some Observations on the Organizations of Personality," The American Psychologist 2, 1947.

Role theorists have further expanded our knowledge concerning the concept of identity as it is related to adjustment. Sarbin[10] followed Roger's theory by conceiving the personality as determined by the interaction between self and role. According to Sarbin the self is what the person is; the role is what the person does.

The relationship between identity and ethnicity could be considered as adjustment between the social and personal frame of reference. Social adjustment here refers to the individual as externally evaluated against criteria set by others, while personal adjustment refers in the main to subjective perceptions. Good adjustment on either level involves high levels of need satisfaction.

Psychosocial identity

The concept of identity has different connotations according to the particular discipline from which it is being assessed. Erikson[11] differentiates between identity, personal identity, and psychosocial identity. A person's identity is summed up in his name and in the status or position he occupies in his community. Personal identity includes a subjective sense of continuous existence and a coherent memory. Psychosocial identity, on the other hand, is at once objective and subjective, individual and social. This differentiation is particularly useful for social workers who have to deal with both the individual and social aspects of a client's problems.

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[10] T. R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," Handbook of Social Psychology, ed. by G. Linday, Cambridge, Mass.: Addison - Wesley Press, 1954.

[11] E. H. Erikson, "Identity, Psychosocial," International Encyclopedia of Social Sciences 7, the MacMillen Co. and The Free Press, 1968, 61-65.

The subjective sense of identity has been best described by William James, noted psychologist, in his letter to Mrs. James, written in 1878. James wrote:

> I have often thought that the best way to define a man's character would be to seek out the particular mental or moral attitudes in which, when it came upon him, he felt himself more deeply and intensely active and alive. At such moments, there is a voice inside which speaks and says, 'this is the real me!' Now, as well as I can describe it, this characteristic attitude in me always involves an element of active tension, of holding my own, as it were, and trusting outward things to perform their part so as to make it a full harmony, but without any guarantee that they will."[12]

The social aspects of identity grow out of a person's awareness of the social order of which he is a part, through his belonging to a community of people whose traditional values become increasingly significant to the individual. For Erikson[13] the term identity expresses a mutual relation in that it connotes both a persistent sameness within oneself (self-sameness) and a persistent sharing of some kind of essential character with others. Erikson[14] recognizes four elements: (1) a conscious sense of individual identity; (2) an unconscious striving for a continuity of personal character; (3) the silent doings of ego-synthesis; and, (4) maintenance of an inner solidarity with the group ideal and identity. The latter lies at the heart of ethnic identity.

While psychosocial identity is not feasible before the end of adolescence, the need for identity begins with birth and continues throughout the person's life. This struggle is two fold: it is characterized by striving for selfhood, wholeness, and initiative, and by an emergence of historical consciousness. Men never live entirely in their own time, although they can never live outside of it. Sometimes identity gets along with the time's ideology, and sometimes it has to fight for its life.

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[12] Henry James, The Letters of William James, Little, Brown and Co,, 1920, p. 9.

[13] E. H. Erikson,"Identity and Life Cycle," Psychological Issues 1, New York: International Universities Press, 1959, 102.

[14] ________, "Identity, Psychosocial," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 7, The MacMillen Co. and The Free Press, 1968, 61-65.

Strauss[15] also approaches the problem of human identity from the point of view of social psychology.* He limits his book to a discussion of how a person becomes implicated with others, and is affected by interaction. Strauss claims that identity emerges from social processes. In "Transformations of Identity," Strauss develops a thesis regarding the correlation between social processes, personal identity, and identity transformation, all of which are central to the social work profession. He says that some transformations of identity and perspective are planned, or at least fostered, by institutional representatives, others happen despite, rather than because of, such regulated activity. Other transformations take place outside the orbit of the visible social structure.

Each person's account of his life is a symbolic ordering of events. The sense that you make of your own life rests upon what concepts, what interpretations you bring to bear upon the multitude of past acts.

Perhaps the most eloquent and beautiful example of the relationship between identity and ethnicity is provided by Freud. On May 6, 1926, in honor of Sigmund Freud's 70th birthday an address written by Freud was read to the society of B'nai B'rith. In the years from 1895 and onwards, Freud was subjected to two powerful impressions. On the one hand, he had gained his first insights into the depth of the life of the human instincts; on the other hand, his discoveries resulted in the severance of many of his human contacts. In his loneliness, he was seized with a longing to find a circle of men of high character who would receive him in a friendly spirit in spite of his termerity. In an address to the Society of B'nai B'rith Freud wrote:

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[15] A. L. Strauss, Mirrors and Masks: The Search for Identity, (Glucoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1959.

*See also Kolm in this report.

> That you were Jews could only be agreeable to me, for I was myself a Jew and it had always seemed to me not only unworthy but positively senseless to deny the fact. What bonded me to Jewry was (I am ashamed to admit) neither faith nor national pride, but plenty of other things to make the attraction of Jewry and Jews irrestible; many obscure emotional forces which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity the safe privacy of a common mental construction.[16]

The above psycho-social formulations clearly suggest the importance of identity for professional work.

Need for curriculum revision

Implementation of the ethnic content and the concept of identity in the social work curriculum needs to be addressed now, but to state that schools must include ethnicity in the curriculum will no longer suffice. This route was taken in the past. A course offered usually as an elective, even with the best of intentions, cannot and will not lead to serious change in attitudes and perceptions of ethnicity. While a specific course on ethnicity may be useful to learn about some particular aspect of an ethnic group, or about theories of ethnicity, what is needed is a complete overhaul of the social work curriculum at all levels of professional education. For example in the human behavior and social environment sequence, the need is to provide relevant, accurate, and useful information on human nature and society, as expressed in various cultures. Differing socialization patterns, values and traditions, ordering priorities and preferences need to be studied.

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[16] Sigmund Freud, "Address to the Society of B'nai B'rith," The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud, Vol XX, 273-274.

As Kurt Lewin[17] noted, society, culture and personality are closely interrelated. Therefore, social work needs to expand its theory base and practice to include more of the social-cultural area. Part of this extension would be what Bartlett[18] has identified as the responsible, conscious, and disciplined use of self in relationship with individuals or groups. In this effort there would be a need to avoid the tendency to stress individual adjustment to the neglect of environmental change and to identify both strengths and limitations in the life styles, values and aspirations of various ethnic groups in society.

Social work, as a profession based on the integration of thinking, feeling and doing, expresed in each of the four major substantive areas of knowledge of the curriculum, will have to provide opportunities for understanding of the diverse tradtions, roles, family patterns, and cultural symbols of ethnic groups in theory as well as in practice.

Suggested models for integration

How can we attain the above? This is a question for which there are no clearly formulated answers as the present time. In the absence of solid research, initial hunches and propositions may be offered at first. Each of these models can be applied under varying circumstances and any one of them separately, or in various combinations, may serve the need for integrating ethnicity into social work curriculum.

1. The Experimental Model

The experimental model is based on educational innovations which may lead to the integration of ethnicity into the curriculum. Experimentations may occur in specifically designed courses or sections of courses in various subjects, such as Human Behavior or Research, in which the ethnic content is highlighted, stressed and dealt with in theory. This model is already being used in our school. For example, in the Social Work Theory and Practice sequence, five particular modes and methods to integrate ethnicity into the curriculum have been tested by one of our faculty[19]: (1) sensitivity training; (2) written assignment; (3) case presentations; (4) confrontations with self; and (5) use of the family life space. Mostwin states that implementation of the integration of ethnicity into the curriculum may be attained through the three major aspects of social work practice: exploration, assessment and intervention. In Mostwin's illustration the students are exposed to close examination of self in relation to their own ethnic background, ethnic values and heritage, and are given opportunities in the class to express ethnic beliefs and values in relation to cases that are discussed in the social work theory and practice course, especially in the course on family therapy.

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[17] Kurt Lewin, Principles of Topological Psychology, New York: McGraw-Hill Co., Inc., 1966.

[18] Harriet M. Bartlett, The Common Base of Social Work, New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1970.

The ethnic background, the values, traditions, and attitudes to society that students bring to their classes help attain a new meaning in developing, maintaining and enriching the relationship between professional and client. Similarly, the model Flynn[20] used (in this report), in which students are exposed to regular weekly investigations and presentations of findings related to the subject of ethnicity in each and every phase of the life cycle, mav be a useful method in social work education in relation to ethnicity. In addition, experimentation in agencies with alternate models of treatment applicable to various ethnic and cultural groups with individuals and groups such as the family, may enable the practitioner to learn about the perception of service delivery and the effect of intervention by different ethnic groups.

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[19] Danuta Mostwin, "Ethnicity in the Teaching of the Social Work Practice," In this paper.

[20] Mary J. Flynn, "Ethnicity in the Teaching of Human Behavior and the Social Environment," in this paper.

Sanders[21] endorses the idea of expanding both class and field learning practices to the community by setting up extensions of the school in the form of a learning center in the heart of an ethnic community. The involvement of students and faculty in community affairs, to direct service and research on an experimental basis, may be a useful and practical way to learn about ethnic life and social work, especially when students could function in projects related to public housing, community councils, and citizen groups. Students assigned to learn their practicum in such settings would be able to assess the institutional completeness of the ethnic communities as well as to comprehend the personal relationships between members of the ethnic community. Attention could be focused on the social organization of the ethnic communities and particularly on the wide variety of behavior which exists among them. Such exposure would, in turn, stimulate research interest and provide new subjects for investigation as well as serve as a truly enriching learning and growth experience for the students.

The advocate model

The advocate in social work practice generally deals with change on the community level, using conflict and controversy, manipulation, politics and compromise, negotiations or calculated risks as his or her armament to effectively deal with large structures.[22]

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[22] Daniel Thursz, "Social Action," Encyclopedia of Social Work 2, New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1971, 1189-1195.

According to the "Task Force on the Quality in Social Work Education,"[23] three factors are critical in distinguishing professional practice. The most important of these is autonomy, a high degree of responsibility for one's own judgment and performance, a feature which differentiates the professional from the technician. The second factor concerns the arena in which autonomy occurs by establishing the boundaries in which the professional exercises self-responsibility for judgment and action. It involves such methods as scope of decision-making, range of options, complexity of the variables involved, the vulnerability of those affected, and the consequences of the actions. The third factor also concerns the arena of operations but from another viewpoint, namely, the breadth and depth of expertise, of knowledge and skills. In line with this statement, a clear understanding of ethnic behavior, values, lifestyles, on both the individual and group levels, and knowledge of the ethnic society as the future arena for the professional social worker, must be built into the social work curriculum. In addition, opportunities for practicing the art of the ombudsman need to be provided in field work as well.

In the past, the advocate model of social work was endorsed by the community oriented practitioners to fight wrongs, to protect the deprived, to advocate fair policies and to teach people how to become more self-sufficient. There is, however, also a need for the recognition of the positive aspects of ethnic life and the preservation and support of ethnic vitality and identity. These may require as much advocacy as do the other issues mentioned so far.

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[23] Herbert Bisno, "Report of the Task Force on Structure and Quality in Social Work Education," New York: Council on Social Work Education, Dec., 1974, see also, National Association of Social Workers, Inc., "Official Position on Recommendations of Council on Social Education Task Force on Structure and Quality in Social Work Education, Washington, D.C., October 1975.

Therefore, in terms of social work education, the integration of ethnicity into the curriculum by the advocacy model requires a certain body of knowledge to be offered in all the substantive areas such as theories about conflict, growth and change, social systems, decision-making, social change and action. Furthermore, it is assumed that the advocacy model of ethnicity would perhaps lead to a greater involvement of the community, and particularly the ethnic group leaders, in both social work education and practice in the field. Since American society does include, at present, large groups in marginal roles, knowledge of these groups, their cultures, lifestyles and behavior must be properly perceived and understood by students in order to offer effective services to these people.[24]

3. The Eclectic Model

The eclectic model is based on the understanding that professional education must by its nature be selective with relation to the concepts, skills, and conscious use of self, taught to future practitioners.

Ethnicity, being a vital area for professional practice, must be built into the curriculum so that both the uniqueness and the similarities of ethnic groups can best be expressed. The areas most amenable to this purpose include poverty, child-rearing, coping with old age, prejudice and discrimination. All of these may be used for purposes of comparison. When needed, a specific ethnic groups may be selected for further indepth study.

In line with this thinking, Robertson[25] mentions two alternatives in which social work curriculum may develop to encompass the concept of ethnicity properly. One is to include new ways of forming helping contracts with inner city clients and to take into consideration the effects of culture and race upon treatment. The other alternative is that social welfare policy sequences might be reorganized to include in their philosophy the values guiding the development of community services, and the relationship of ethnically oriented welfare organications to the total welfare system. Underlying this perception is that schools, like individuals, have unique needs, unique student bodies, and problems they have to deal with in terms of professional social work education. However, all of them share the underlying values of the social work profession and its commitment to high quality practice. In order to attain this quality, most schools would need considerable revision of the curriculum to include more content on the various ethnic groups in American society and the contributions, achievements, strengths, hopes, fears, and priorities of these groups. Awareness of cultural differences, and their articulation would be particularly important in the curriculum, since social workers find themselves in positions where crucial decisions are made daily about people, without sometimes proper understanding of their particular needs, backgrounds, apspirations, hopes and lifestyles. The identification and understanding of ethnic differences, and the application of this understanding in differential models of practice, is absolutely essential. In this quest, we may utilize the existing manpower in schools of social work. As we all know, most of the faculty are themselves members of various ethnic groups and many of them have considerable expertise, knowledge, interest and ability to serve as transmitters of the ethnic culture to the new generation of students.

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[24] Seymour Mirelowitz and Leona Grossman, "Ethnicity: An Intervening Variable in Social Work Education," Journal of Education for Social Work 11, No. 3, Fall 1975, 76-83.

[25] Mary E. Robertson, "Inclusion of Content on Ethnic and Racial Minorities in the Social Work Curriculum," Paper presented at the Seventeenth Annual Program Meeting of the Council for Social Work Education, January 1969, Cleveland Ohio.

Conclusions

Irrespective of which of the three models presented so far will be selected eventually by a particular school, it would be beneficial to proceed with the changes gradually. At first there would be a need to surface the ethnic content and make it explicit in the various courses offered in programs of professional social work education. Second, there would be a need for close monitoring of the field experiences of the students, to insure appropriate learning opportunities in the ethnic communities. Third, there would be a need to gain constant feedback from students, faculty and supervisors about the best method to be used in integrating the concept of ethnicity into social work education and practice.

And, finally, we will need research to further identify the directions in which the profession should go. The research sequence should be expanded to include inquiring into selected topics in social ethnic systems and social work practice. Research may serve as an integrative force in knowledge about these systems, with practice affording the students opportunity to become familiar with the basic design of research and its application to various situations of ethnic groups.

As Mary Robertson[26] points out, we are constantly reappraising curriculums, policies, and educational practices, since the curriculum is a major key to organized exchange between faculty and students as they strive to master an understanding of some aspect of men and his changing environment. Moreover, because of the nature of our times, and the need to serve ethnic minorities in their quest for human dignity, social work educators have to review the various curriculum areas and determine whether they are responsive and pertinent to the requirements of professional functions.

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[26] Ibid.

A curriculum that is designed to be more responsive to ethnic and cultural diversity, a curriculum that focuses on issues of equality and social justice will, in my opinion, give social work education it finest hour.

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